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The Relationship Between a Private Voluntary Organization and the Government of a Developing Country in the Delivery of Public Education: A Case Study in Rural Guatemala

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THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN A PRIVATE VOLUNTARY ORGANIZATION
AND THE GOVERNMENT OF A DEVELOPING COUNTRY
IN THE DELIVERY OF PUBLIC EDUCATION:
A CASE STUDY IN RURAL GUATEMALA

by

TIMOTHY JOHN PETERSON

A dissertation submitted in partial fulfillment
of the requirements for the degree of

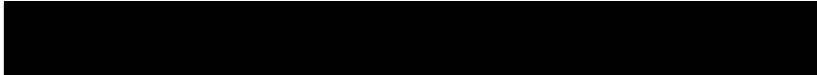
DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY
of
URBAN STUDIES

Portland State University

1990

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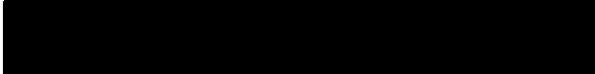
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ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Appreciation is given to those in Guatemala who provided assistance and perspective during the data collection process, to the "Adopt-A-School" organization for allowing this evaluation to occur, and to the dissertation committee for their assistance. A special word of thanks goes to Debi, Melissa, and John Paul for the many sacrifices they have made during the last four years of participating with me in this adventure.

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AN ABSTRACT OF THE DISSERTATION OF Timothy John Peterson for the Doctor of Philosophy in Urban Studies presented on October 30, 1990.

Title: The Relationship Between a Private Voluntary Organization and the Government of a Developing Country in the Delivery of Public Education: A Case Study in Rural Guatemala

APPROVED BY MEMBERS OF THE DISSERTATION COMMITTEE:


Seymour Adler, Chairperson


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As government agencies face a complexity of economic and political issues the availability and utilization of resources through private voluntary organizations (PVOs) have become increasingly important. A review of the

literature covering the role of PVOs in developing countries indicates the significant contribution these agencies can have in the development process. There are only a handful of situations where small organizations are working directly with a government agency in the provision of a public service. Theoretically, PVOs are adaptable to a variety of settings, are effective conduits for delivering aid to the grassroots level, and are able to initiate long term development activity. This study considers these characteristics in the midst of the relationship that exists between a foreign PVO and a host government in the delivery of public education to a rural indigenous population.

A U.S. based organization named "Adopt-A-School" has been working in 3 districts of northern Guatemala's Cuchumatanes Highlands since 1984. The focus of its work has been to provide students in selected public schools with basic supplies (e.g., paper, notebooks, pencils, and dictionaries). The organizational structure of the PVO consists of a constituency group from whom donations are received, a board of directors that manages the available resources, and field workers who implement the program. The analysis of this PVO-government relationship is based on qualitative and quantitative data collected by interviewing participants on local and national levels, distributing questionnaires to teachers (N=156) and PVO donors (N=32),

and performing participant observations in selected communities and schools.

The decisions regarding site selection have been important factors in the effectiveness of the AAS program and has contributed to the strength of its durability. Data indicate that the longevity and replication of this program rests on the fragile relationship network that exists between the PVO, its donors, and the host-government. This study shows that foreign PVOs can play a significant role in local communities by encouraging the growth and development of new structures that link grassroots organizations with those who maintain economic and political power.

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

Foreign economic aid to developing countries comes through one of two sectors: public or private. The work of the government sector is considered to be public, while nongovernmental entrepreneurial and philanthropic activity is viewed as being private. National agencies often seek to utilize additional resources from private organizations for programs and projects to facilitate growth and development. The nongovernmental sector is represented by two types of organizations: profit and nonprofit. This study looks specifically at the role of a particular "third sector" nonprofit organization and its relationship to a government agency in delivering aid.

Theoretically, foreign, nonprofit, private voluntary organizations (PVOs) are highly flexible and adaptable to the conditions found in Third World countries. They tend to work on projects that focus on community development and the provision of goods and services to the disadvantaged. But, PVOs are constrained by their limited resource base and the need to be sensitive to economic and political conditions found within a host country.

Community needs can differ from government interests and a PVO can be caught in the middle of those conflicting goals. This study looks at some of those issues in determining why a school was selected to participate in the program; how effective the PVO has been in accomplishing its goals in the midst of differing needs; and to what degree the PVO program is able to experience durability. Policies and programs are expected to conform to and strengthen the relationships that exist within the state structure.

Program site selection comes as a result of decisions regarding the availability of resources and access to a given population. The hypothesis is that when a PVO is working with a government those decisions well reflect the underlying goals and objectives of the various actors in the decision-making process.

Program effectiveness is measured by the positive impact a PVO has in the delivery of a service and in the expanded use of a provision. Those who are involved in the program will find a variety of ways of utilizing the resources that the PVO provides. In some cases that use will not necessarily match the intended objectives or outcomes of the PVO which forces it to consider altering the flow of support or changing its goals.

Another area of interest that this study investigates has to do with the nature of program durability which is a result of the PVO's relationship network and institutional-

ization. A fragile association exists between a PVO, its donors, a host-government, and the recipients of the provision. Changes in goals can mean a drop in funding or a risk of threatening actors within the host government. A PVO can be a potential link between the local community and a national government, but must guard against being considered an alternative patrón, thereby developing a new form of dependency. PVO flexibility and adaptability to local needs motivates governments to seek a form of program institutionalization that will insure the continuation and control of the provision.

Since 1984, "Adopt-A-School" (AAS), a North American based PVO, has been working with the Guatemalan Ministry of Education in 3 school districts. The focus of its work has been to provide students in selected public schools with basic supplies (e.g., paper, notebooks, pencils, and dictionaries). The growth and development of the program has been dependent upon a relationship network established by the PVO field workers, the availability and longevity of donor support, and the fit between PVO and government goals in the delivery of rural public education.

The researcher was attracted to this study for two reasons. First,, there continues to be a need for better understanding regarding the impoverished conditions people face throughout the Third World and the role social services can play to help meet those needs. Second, there are only a

handful of instances where small organizations are working directly with a government agency in the provision of a public service. As the availability of resources becomes increasingly limited throughout the world, governments are looking for alternative methods to support the existing infrastructure. Nongovernmental organizations, similar to AAS, can be considered important channels of external aid for the governments and communities of developing countries in maintaining the delivery of social programs.

During the summer of 1987, the researcher was introduced to the AAS program while in Guatemala. At that time he visited a number of schools in the northern department of Huehuetenango where the program operates and met various teachers and administrators. After returning to the United States, he received letters from 4 district supervisors, a regional director, and 2 national administrators inviting him to return and perform a study on the impact of the AAS program and its relationship to the Ministry of Education. In July 1989, the researcher returned to Guatemala for six months, traveling to various locations and collecting information about the AAS program and the rural public schools through interviews, participant observations, and the distribution of a teacher questionnaire.

Generally speaking, the reliability and availability of quantitative, statistical data in developing countries is limited, and this proved to be the case in Guatemala. On both the district and regional levels, data about individual schools was not available. As an example, in an interview with a regional director in the Ministry of Education, he admitted to not even knowing exactly how many schools or teachers there were in the region under his jurisdiction, not to mention how many students. The few annual records that are collected by supervisors are sent into the central office of the Ministry of Education in Guatemala City. Those national records are not available to the public, which makes a longitudinal study difficult.

Quantitative data regarding the relationship between the national economy and education were gathered from public documents and publications at the University of San Carlos and the office of USAID in Guatemala City. Local community and school statistics came from questionnaires the researcher distributed to teachers in the 3 districts where the AAS program is operating. The qualitative information came from interviews conducted with community leaders, teachers, regional and national administrators, and PVO participants.

This research will contribute to a greater understanding of the relationship that exists between foreign PVOs and government agencies in developing countries. It seeks to consider the complexity of issues

relevant to organizations offering aid to governments and the factors influencing that relationship.

CHAPTER II

PRIVATE VOLUNTARY ORGANIZATIONS IN DEVELOPING COUNTRIES

Historically, private voluntary organizations (PVOs) have played an important role in delivering aid to the countries of the southern hemisphere. As early as the 16th century, European governments expected the presence and activity of these organizations (most of which were religiously based) to be complementary to the economic and political objectives of their colonial ministries. Most PVOs have represented a small well educated elite who follow apolitical and altruistic goals by offering aid through welfare relief (Boulding, 1988).

They construct transnational networks that give their donors and recipients the ability to link resources and expertise to particular locations and needs. What is occurring within the social and economic conditions of a community is reflective of what forces are at work on a macro level. The problem is to clearly conceptualize how an appropriate relationship can be made between the various actors and the influence that a link or series of links will have on the recipients of a program.

By definition, private voluntary organizations are nonprofit, nongovernmental agencies providing welfare and/or institutionalized type services in the public or private sectors. Typically, they have a constituency group from whom donations are received, a board of directors who manage resources, and field workers who implement organizational plans. This triangular paradigm creates home and host country relationship networks that make PVOs unique actors in the development process.

The literature on PVOs indicates that they are characterized by relatively low operating budgets, high levels of volunteerism, internal accountability to their donors, and cost effectiveness (Abdelgabar, 1987; Bolling and Smith, 1982; Boyntes, 1983; Cernea, 1985; Gorman, 1984; Hellinger, et al., 1988; Hilhorst, 1982; James, 1989; Linden, 1974; OECD, 1988; Schneider, 1988; Weisbrod, 1988; Wilson, 1984). PVO field workers are usually motivated by a high level of commitment to the organization's goals and exhibit altruistic behavior. They have the potential of being closer than most organizations to the poorer social classes and can act as an important link between the larger, bureaucratized governmental agencies and local communities.

Governmental agencies are driven by political pressures and personal incentives that make them sensitive to the well-organized demands of the economic and bureaucratic elite. Often governmental response to social problems comes

as a result of market failures. Private enterprises simply do not engage in activities that lack profit incentives. Governments of the Third World are limited in their ability to expand internal sources of revenues in order to finance or subsidize the provision of goods and services that are not provided by the private sector.

PVOs seek to set themselves apart from other groups that are entrepreneurial and proprietary by emphasizing the apolitical and altruistic nature of their goals and projects. This emphasis is to down play the use of market strategies some organizations employ in accomplishing their program goals through a process of site selection, effectiveness, and durability (Seibel, 1989).

SITE SELECTION

PVOs working in Third World countries in the area of development must be sensitive to the separation between the needs of those at the community level who are the recipients of a program and broader national policies that form the parameters of their activities. Program site selection comes as a result of decisions that reflect the availability and use of resources and the underlying goals of the actors who are involved. In response to these concerns, a PVO's role may vary from welfare type short-term projects to involvement in long-term institutionalized programs while utilizing either specialist or generalist approaches

(Abdelgabar, 1987; Gorman, 1984; Linden, 1976; Tucker, et.al., 1990).

When a PVO functions in welfare capacities it provides charity-like support for a brief period of time, such as in disaster relief projects. In an institutionalized role the goals may include not only material aid and technical assistance, but also encourage the formation of nationally-based infrastructures that will result in local mobilization and participation (B. Smith, 1984).

Government agencies and private organizations tend to provide welfare assistance or pursue development by utilizing approaches that reinforce the negative consequences of modernization and dependency. Allocating resources in this manner reflects the interests of the economic and political elite; not the needs of the least well-off (Katy and Katy, 1977). If the goals of the state for society do not match the particular needs or interests of a rural population, a foreign PVO can be an important connection between a host-government agency and peripheral communities in the delivery of goods and services.

PVOs are limited by their access to and control over a restricted supply of resources. A PVO's organizational and program support is based on its ability to compete for scarce financial resources found in individuals, organizations, and agencies (governmental and/or nongovernmental). Regardless of who or how many are involved in this associa-

tion, a fragile coalition exists between a PVO and its donors, conditioned by the incentives for financial support of the work (H.R. Robert, 1984; Weisbrod, 1988).

Unlike proprietary organizations and governmental agencies, a PVO's access to and control over a financial base is complicated by the fact that it does not have the ability to draw support from the sales of services or products nor levy taxes. It is dependent upon donations that come from a variety of fund-raising techniques.

Program benefits, results, close donor-recipient relations, and tax deductions are emphasized to potential supporters as incentives for participation (Blasser, 1984; Schneider, 1988; Weisbrod, 1988). The financial participation of individuals and groups is contingent upon a high level of trust in the PVO and those responsible for implementing the program (B. Smith, 1989). Donors assume that the PVO will be accountable to them for the use of the resources.

The longevity and growth of individual donor participation in a PVO lacks strength if it is built only on the relationship network of founding members. The strength of those relationships will in part determine what level of commitment a person has to the organization. Continued donor support will depend on how successful a PVO is in accomplishing the goals that initiated donor involvement and

in maintaining the importance of that financial support for the continued work of the PVO (Weisbrod, 1988).

When a PVO is limited by a decline in donorships and faces increased operating costs it looks to other sources of funding; some rely on government resources (Kramer, 1989). Most PVOs are reluctant to receive funds from governmental sources for fear of reducing their organizational autonomy, limiting their control in program implementation, and losing their apolitical appearance (Gorman, 1984).

Home governments are interested in providing financial support to PVOs working in developing countries to limit the influence of foreign political forces and to insure that the aid will be dispensed in a cost-effective manner. As PVOs function with, or on behalf of, the government sector, they are seen as being complementary to and supportive of the entire political structure (OECD, 1988).

As an example, the United States government utilizes the work of PVOs in dispensing aid to welfare relief and technical support (Table I). Eighty percent of this aid is channeled through welfare relief organizations while only 8.3 percent of U.S. government aid is directed through multiservice-type PVOs. Multiservice organizations focus their provision on the building of local institutions and networks and receive 80.6 percent of their financial support from private donors. Organizations providing technical assistance have similar percentages of private and public

support to the multiservice PVOs, while they generate the least amount of financial resource.

TABLE I
RESOURCES AND PERCENTAGES RECEIVED FROM THE
U.S. GOVERNMENT BY THE LARGEST
U.S. TRANSNATIONAL PVOS
(1981-1982)

<u>PVO Type</u>	<u>Resources</u>	<u>% Government</u>
Welfare Relief	\$749.9 mil	64.5%
Technical Assistance	209.4 mil	33.5%
Multiservice Provision	230.6 mil	21.7%
<u>Totals</u>	<u>\$1,189.0 mil</u>	<u>50.7%</u>

Source: Bureau for Food for Peace and Voluntary Assistance, 1982.

PVOs performing welfare relief programs demonstrate either generalist or specialist organizational forms which causes them to relate differently to their environments (Freeman and Hannan, 1983). When an organization operates in a generalist fashion it is adaptable to a variety of situations and presents a low level of risk to other organizations with which it associates. The broad and diverse nature of the organizational form allows it great diversity, but limited strength to change underlying negative conditions. Specialist organizations on the other hand are able to specify particular environments within which the PVO will work and direct its resources to a particular problem.

This close fit between organizational form and activity is good as long as the environment remains unchanged which is rarely the case in a Third World context (Tucker, et.al., 1990).

The work of CARE and Habitat-for-Humanity are two examples of these types of organizations operating in Guatemala. CARE is classified as a nongovernmental organization that works primarily with state agencies in the allocation of its resources and implementation of its programs. Currently, the agency's main project is a Food-for-Work program in the larger urban areas (IHERC, 1988). Inner-city programs such as this one are being implemented, with the help of the Guatemalan government, to address the growing threat of urban unrest and provide political stability.

Habitat-for-Humanity, on the other hand, is a smaller, international PVO that constructs homes and provides no-interest loans to the poor +for the purchase of this housing. In 1980, it began working in Guatemala and has sponsored loans for housing and related projects which include water and sanitation systems, energy-efficient wood stoves, and community buildings (IHERC, 1988). It does not receive funds from any governmental sources for these projects and its work occurs at the grassroots level. The organization's purpose is to provide the poor with tangible ways of improving their lives through the provision of

adequate, low-cost housing, but its overall effect is limited in terms of collective empowerment.

EFFECTIVENESS

The organizational size and restricted operating budgets of small PVOs causes them to have a preoccupation with program success (Abdelgabar, 1987; James, 1989). PVOs with relatively low budgets are forced to utilize resources more cost effectively than larger organizations (OECD, 1988). This causes foreign PVOs to rely on local groups and individuals in the process of implementing their programs. If a foreign PVO becomes dependent upon the competence and commitment of only a few actors in a host country, it will be limited in successfully managing its resources according to its organizational goals.

Government agencies and local communities can benefit from the contribution PVOs make when their aid is directed through existing national programs. National bureaucracies either cannot or choose to not allocate resources in as flexible a manner as PVOs (James, 1989). Who receives the aid and what they can do with it is far more important than how much aid is being received (Hellinger, et al, 1988).

Some PVOs have evolved from small beginnings with a limited staff and specialized agenda to large organizations that represent a broad constituency and are involved in a variety of enterprises and activities. As an organization

grows there is a danger that its increased size and bureaucracy may act as negative factors in its ability to adapt to situations in distant locations or remain focused on its original purpose.

If a PVO is going to work with other agencies in order to enhance its provision of aid, then it must reach a certain critical size within its own organizational structure. Larger agencies have an advantage in working with governmental agencies due to their sizable amounts of financial resources and the diversity of their field experience. Experience is based on having some level of permanence in the PVO field staff who know how work has been accomplished in a particular context (OECD, 1988).

Working within the public sector can condition the provision of PVOs and emphasize an urban bias in program design (Weisbrod, 1988; Almy, 1979). The towns that are closer to larger urban areas receive a higher percentage of development aid and programs than those in more distant locations. Large international organizations recommend comprehensive plans to governments with the promise of financial support which reinforces urban-oriented goals.

When this occurs development goals and strategies can be mismatched to the needs of those who must live with the long-term results of the implemented programs (Hall, 1987). Approaches that are characterized by large monetary expenditures directed through existing governmental

bureaucracies bring limited opportunities to those who are outside the national economy (Hellinger, et al., 1988). Actors external to the community maintain control over the programs and, as a consequence, over the recipients, which leaves little opportunity for the poor to identify their needs or suggest alternatives to their problems.

If host government agencies consider the work of PVOs to be important in the promotion of national goals, they are more open to institutionalizing that organization into the public sector (Blasser, 1984; Schneider, 1988). This is done to maximize the work of the PVO on behalf of government interests, expand the regime's political power, and enhance a government's capacity to absorb outside capital (ICSW, 1983; OECD, 1988).

DURABILITY

Since the relationship between foreign PVOs and host governments is many times not clearly defined, the potential for mistrust and suspicion to develop is strong. Most host governments do not have a stated policy regarding the activities of a foreign agency and respond on a case-by-case basis. When a problem emerges, they focus their attention on what that PVO has been doing while tightening their regulation of its activities until it becomes less threatening to the interests and activities of the ruling regime.

Typically, smaller foreign organizations work from a position of distance and avoidance with government officials so that they will not attract undue attention (Schneider, 1988). This can ultimately lead to tensions and conflict when communication and mutual support ceases to exist. Government officials are reluctant to allow foreigners to have unlimited access to and influence over a local population or government services, especially when the results could bring criticism and unwanted change (Hall, 1987).

The initial acceptance of a PVO's program rests on the strength of ties with local actors and the relevance of a PVO's provision to a particular need, while the longevity of its program depends on relationships to national actors and interests (Wilson, 1984). Personal relationships are built on mutual trust and loyalty forming linkages for the PVO within the government sector (Weisbrod, 1988). But, this external control has the potential of making it difficult for a PVO to remain autonomous and not be captured by particular interest groups.

A PVO lacks autonomy when its activities are constrained by political forces and actors. This occurs when it must rely on those in positions of power and influence for access to groups and communities. If a PVO chooses to work within the public sector, it must adapt to those existing relationships which make it susceptible to external

bureaucratization and control (Schneider, 1988; Hellinger, et al, 1988). The relationship a PVO constructs with a government agency potentially limits its association with those at the grassroots level, especially when the foreign organization is considered to be an extension of the government, and equally unresponsive (Boulding, 1988).

The nonpolitical appearance of PVOs may give them the freedom to go places where other agencies are forbidden (Wilson, 1984). Theoretically, by working in a complementary way with existing government programs, a PVO can enhance its own work, giving it greater legitimacy and the opportunity to work in restricted areas. It might also be able to extend its limited resources by working within and through existing programs, thus not having to create its own infrastructure. However, when a PVO is working in a context where access to a local population and longevity in a host country depend upon relationships to key governmental actors it is unlikely that the PVO will remain as apolitical as it might wish. When foreign PVOs choose to be closely aligned with host-government agencies, they exchange political endorsement for service access (Kramer, 1989). It is for this reason that some have questioned the ability of agencies to act as altruistically and apolitically as they claim (Lissner, 1977; Hellinger, et al, 1988).

During the last 40 years, PVO involvement in the Third World has become important as governments seek to respond to

the complexity of economic and social problems within their countries. The work and resources of PVOs are used by governmental agencies to fulfill the growing need for public goods and services (Kramer, 1985).

Governments throughout Latin America have sought to control and authoritatively manage economic development. Experiments in democracy have been set aside in an effort to address the issues of modernization and dependency through firm, central control (O'Donnell, 1979). It has been difficult for PVOs working in bureaucratic-authoritarian environments to remain autonomous from the political forces that surround them, while at the same time work to bring substantive changes in lives of people so negatively affected by those same institutions (Gran, 1983).

The state structure considers itself to be the sole representative of the nation and implementor of appropriate economic and social development programs. In a process of balancing demands with the ability to allocate resources, the state depends upon central control. The political environment is considered stable when the government is able to exercise this control in responding to demands while it allows for social mobilization and political participation (Huntington, 1968).

When a PVO acts in a way that is designed to empower the poor, that action necessitates economic and political change. If PVOs work to develop local networks and empower-

ment, then they will endeavor to have the implementation of their programs be directed by local interests and seek ways of changing inappropriate national programs and policies. That kind of activity is most often perceived as a threat to the elite and, therefore, opposed by the government (Hellinger, et al, 1988).

A relationship between a foreign PVO and a host government is going to exist--that is unavoidable--and, for this reason, the terms and content of that relationship must be clarified (Hellinger, et al., 1988). Development projects that are directed toward the grassroots level increase the size and strength of local-state relationship networks, regardless of whether they are being planned at the top or bottom (Schwartz and Eckhardt, 1985). Consequently, it is difficult for local-level actors and agencies to maintain control over the intended outcome of programs that are implemented and simultaneously remain autonomous from larger governmental forces.

Foreign organizations that are flexible enough to address a variety of relief and development needs are valued both by sponsors and host governments. Financial supporters consider program flexibility and organizational autonomy important in directing funds to particular grassroots needs. Bureaucratic actors consider the adaptability of a PVO to national goals important to the ruling regime as they seek to utilize technical and financial assistance in support of

their policies and programs. A PVO working within the public sector has the potential of increasing the financial resources that those government actors have at their disposal in providing goods and services (Weisbrod, 1988).

Nongovernmental organizations can offer programs without having to deal with the bureaucratic problems associated with public sector. When projects and programs are under the control of governmental agencies, in many cases, they are unable to function according to the expectations of national administrators or the needs of the local community.

PVOs that are small in size and decentralized in decision making are able to adapt to changing needs and situations in the environment of their work. Though nongovernmental groups are familiar with the administrative structure of the public sector, they seek to reduce program ineffectiveness by avoiding bureaucratization and routinization.

The involvement of PVOs in the development process can help insure that projects designed to benefit the least well-off do in fact accomplish their goals when implemented, rather than being diluted by other interests. A PVO's program design and access to resources allows them to function as an important link between a community and the higher levels of a government bureaucracy. This local-national association within a PVO's activity is reflected in

the relationship network it constructs within a host country and the degree to which its activity becomes institutionalized.

CHAPTER III

OVERVIEW OF RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

As was stated in the opening chapter, the organization of Adopt-A-School (AAS) has been working in Guatemala's northern department of Huehuetenango since 1984, delivering basic school supplies to children attending the public schools. This study investigates the underlying relationships that exist to make this work possible, the effectiveness of the program as it functions through the Ministry of Education, and the potential for program longevity. The methodology is based on a research design that allowed for the collection and analysis of relevant data from a known population and led to the consideration of questions about where the program is located, what conditions its success, and the degree to which it is durable. The narrative nature of this study seeks to describe the phenomena of a foreign PVO working with a government in the provision of rural public education.

A "Static Group Comparison" design (Campbell & Stanley, 1963) was used to study the 121 rural schools in the 3 districts of Chiantla, Todos Santos, and San Juan Ixcoy. Seventy of those schools are involved in the AAS program.

Random assignment to the treatment group has not occurred, so this does not qualify as a true experimental design.

This cross-sectional design considers the presence and absence of the treatment, but it does so in a context of other factors working on the 2 comparison groups. A number of independent variables could be the source of the differences being observed, and provide rival hypotheses to explain the nature of the observed effects. The researcher recognizes that differences between the 2 groups could come as a result of selection, mortality, or maturation, rather than the treatment.

Changes in teaching staff is another problem that potentially influences differences that exist between the 2 groups. Though schools have not dropped from the program once they were admitted and schools not in the program have continued to exist, some schools in both groups have experienced a change in teaching staff. Since portions of this study look at the teachers in the schools, this change could have impacted the results.

Another caveat must be given regarding the general knowledge about the work of the PVO by all the teachers combined in the 3 school districts and the influence this might have had on the results. It was not possible to control for this potential influence in the responses to interview questions or the teachers' questionnaires. Differences can be seen by comparing schools involved in the

program with those not in the AAS program. But, this does not lessen the probability that the general history of this PVO's activity has an underlying influence on the results.

One way of overcoming this problem was to question respondents in both interviews and surveys about how factors in the schools and community (i.e., level of communication, community attitudes, and participation) have changed over time. Questions have also been used to relate school needs to the ability of community members and the PVO program to meet those needs.

METHODS OF DATA COLLECTION

Three different methods were used in collecting the data for this study: interviewing, questionnaires, and field research. The combination of these methods gives to the investigator a much fuller picture of the relationship that exists between AAS and Guatemala's Ministry of Education. The goal of using a variety of methods is to improve the levels of reliability and validity in the information that was collected (Gordon, 1980).

By using methods that bring together both qualitative and quantitative data the researcher was able to consider a variety of perspectives in analyzing this particular relationship. The importance of qualitative data to this study is that it allows for underlying cultural values and assumptions to emerge that quantitative methods would miss.

It necessitates an emphasis on organizing the material in such a way so as to see patterns of association and opinion.

An example of the potential problems of quantitative data in developing countries is found in educational statistics gathered by the Guatemalan government. According to the government's data for the years from 1976 to 1983, the number of students entering the first grade each year is larger than the estimated total for the entire 7 year old cohort of children (USAID, 1985). What the government failed to account for in the collection of the data was the number of students who were repeating the first-grade level.

Interviewing

Interviewing provides the researcher with a systematic way to ask a similar set of questions to a number of actors in a potentially nonobtrusive and efficient manner in the context of field research (McCracken, 1988). Interviews allow a higher level of reliability to be maintained throughout the data collection process. Through this method, information was collected about how various actors within the Ministry of Education view aspects of rural education and the work of AAS. The variation in responses portray the differences in opinions and perspectives.

The significance of opinions and perspectives is not in how many people hold to the categories that were cited through the process of the interviews, but the fact that these views exist (McCracken, 1988). The more in-depth

interviews and observations one has, the more graphically one is able to portray what is going on in the respondents lives and how that information will impact the study. The data serve as a means of offering a glimpse of the complicated nature of life and society in this rural, indigenous context.

During the 6 months of data collection, 24 individuals were interviewed in sessions that averaged 1 hour each (15 went through an additional follow-up interview session). Teachers, district supervisors, regional directors, national administrators, and field workers from other foreign organizations were contacted and questioned regarding their knowledge of and involvement with the AAS program. Interviews of parents and community members were also made and incorporated into field observations.

The accessibility, expertise, and willingness of respondents are fundamental to the success of the interviews (Gorden, 1980). A danger of this method, however, is the level of accuracy people have in remembering what has occurred in the past and the inherent biases they have in interpreting those events.

It was important to have respondents share their experiences and attitudes while simultaneously not building barriers of defensiveness and suspicion (Whyte, 1984). One way of doing this was to ask respondents if they had been personally involved in any of the activities of the AAS

program: visited any of the schools with the field workers, been present at any school/program inaugurations, or worked with the field workers on any extra projects. These questions gave respondents the opportunity to share their perspectives and ideas about the implementation of the program and the work that the PVO was trying to do. It also gave them a chance to participate in the story, because it was about their involvement, too.

The researcher found that most respondents were very eager to answer questions and provide information about the PVO and the provision of rural education. It was not necessary to provide extra motivations or incentives in order to have people participate. The interviews themselves ranged from informal to formal settings, some of which were tape recorded for later review.

The task of interviewing first focused on finding appropriate informants in each setting and at each level. When work was being conducted in the various communities, the researcher would initially walk through the community asking adults if they had children in the school. The researcher then proceeded to talk with them about the school and their knowledge and impression of the PVO program and whether or not it was working in that location.

A snowball technique was employed in the nonscheduled community interviews by asking one parent for the names and residences of other parents. Since the majority of these

informal chats occurred outside the respondents' homes, a number of people would typically start to gather around and share their thoughts and ideas. The mere fact that the investigator was a foreigner brought attention and, as conversation followed, it usually meant people came to the researcher with as much frequency as the researcher went to others. The community members or teachers rarely seemed inhibited to give their perspective or share what they considered to be their educational needs and concerns.

Collecting information from district supervisors, regional directors, and national administrators required first gathering the names and positions of individuals who had connections to the PVO and then arranging appointments. Requests for interviews were explained on the basis of the study and were almost always granted.

When interviewing administrators, the researcher already knew of an event or connection which brought them into the PVO-government relationship. The interview would begin with that point of contact and then move on to other questions about rural education and PVOs in general.

These interviews were, by their very nature, more formal. In most instances, the researcher was able to tape record the conversation, which allowed for a more detailed account of the interviews. It also allowed the researcher to be more socially oriented without having to physically record all of the responses. By working with those involved

in the PVO, the researcher was able to analyze how their goals and objectives match their service, what criteria they use for determining what they do, and how they calculate their success.

The interview method allowed the researcher to collect qualitative data through personal observation and interaction with individual respondents. By employing open ended questions, respondents were able to share their experiences and opinions in ways that did not limit their options to a few preconceived choices.

For each of the interviews, it was important to work towards uniformity in asking questions and collecting information, taking into account the respondent's ability to answer accurately. These interviews gave the researcher information about rural formal education, the effectiveness of the PVO program, and the match between the provision of formal education and community needs. The questions focused on the length of time the respondent had been in contact with the PVO, the nature of that relationship, what the impact of the PVO's work had been in the schools and in the process of education, what limits have been placed on the work of the PVO, and to what degree would the program be able to be accomplished by a Guatemalan organization, governmental or nongovernmental.

The interview process has inherent problems that the researcher sought to avoid (Moser and Kalton, 1972). First,

it was important that opinions and expectations not control the form or content of the questions. This was dealt with by asking questions that were not leading in nature, asking similar questions of respondents, and making the interviews opportunities for the respondents to share their experiences and the content of their involvement by giving detailed information.

Second, respondent error occurs when there is a lack of knowledge or memory, or they simply do not want to reveal their views. In this particular cultural context, people are very reluctant to inform another that they do not know the answer to a question. This is complicated by the hesitation people have of sharing what they do know when there is no control over how that information is going to be used. Ultimately, regardless of the conditions, a person's response is validated by others participating in the same event. More interviews increase the accuracy of each one regarding what actually took place.

Questionnaires

Two survey questionnaires (see Appendices A & B) were also used in this study and served as additions to the personal interviews conducted by the researcher. Questionnaires provide a larger amount of information which can be used to verify the data one collects through the interview process (Gorden, 1980). In this study one questionnaire was designed for teachers (N = 156) in the schools of the 3

districts where the PVO is operating and a second for the PVO donors (N = 32).

Both teacher and donor questionnaires had an assortment of fact and opinion-oriented questions. The questionnaires were qualitative by having the majority of questions be open ended, broader, and flexible. The problem that the researcher had to deal with regarding the fact questions was to ensure that respondents understood what information was wanted. Just as it is important in interviews to ask respondents only the questions they can answer, so it continues to be true for those responding to a questionnaire (Garden, 1980). It was necessary to determine if the respondents had the knowledge or access to the necessary information to accurately answer the questions.

In the process of interviewing the regional director in Huehuetenango, the researcher inquired about the possibility of distributing a questionnaire to the teachers in the 3 school districts where the AAS program was operating. With his endorsement and the support of the district supervisors, the researcher designed a questionnaire and distributed it to all of the teachers. Of the 300 questionnaires distributed, 225 were returned. Of those that were returned 69 were from teachers who work in schools that are classified as urban. This left 156 teachers of which 72 participate in the AAS program. This is compared with 84 for teachers who do not participate in the program.

Questions in the survey that are of special importance to this study relate first, to the school needs and whether or not community members and/or foreign organizations can meet those needs, and second, to the overall effectiveness of the AAS program.

The questionnaire focused on the teacher (goals, training, and background), the community (size, language, relationship with the school), the students (enrollment records for the last two years and projection for next year, average grade completed, and daily attendance), and the PVO program; included also were questions about other organizations working in the community. It was designed in such a way that respondents could reply on the basis of information they would have available to them (Moser and Kalton, 1972). Through the assistance of a Guatemalan bilingual teacher who spoke Spanish and English, the questions were worded and arranged in a manner that made the questionnaire clear and culturally appropriate.

Due to time constraints, a pilot survey was not conducted. This could have helped define particular issues of importance and allowed for the use of fewer open ended questions. The researcher depended upon the data he had gathered from interviews and fieldwork to determine questionnaire content.

The open ended questions left room for a choice of written responses; however the unanswered questions may have

been the result of using this type of questions. The layout permitted enough space for respondents to adequately fill in the questions, though it would have been helpful in the coding process if more multiple-choice questions had been used.

The response from the teachers regarding participation in the survey was one of openness and general enthusiasm. Even though the questionnaire was long, most respondents appreciated the fact that someone was asking their personal opinions of the rural community, the educational process, and the work of this particular PVO.

Of the 45 support units listed by the AAS organization as monthly financial contributors, 32 participated in a telephone survey (4 of the donors were listed are groups, 3 had unlisted phone numbers and 6 did not want to participate). They answered questions related to how the donors first heard about the program, questions regarding their contributions, involvement in other non-profit organizations, purpose and goals of AAS, and family statistics (Appendix B). The respondents were open and positive about their involvement in the organization and more than willing to share ideas and suggestions about how the service could be improved. Their greatest concern seemed to relate to the difficulty they have in communicating with their school.

Field Research

A third method of data collection was field research. Participant observations occurred in three settings: the local communities, the schools, and the PVO organization. Participation observation, by its very nature, is unfocused, unstructured, low key, and possibly redundant (Schatzman and Strauss, 1973). But, it permits a more intimate, repeated, and longer exposure to those involved in the action or phenomenon.

For a period of 7 days, the researcher lived with a family in the community of Capixayo. This opportunity was arranged for the researcher by the teacher of the school. The house was a single room, post-and-beam structure with a dirt floor. A fire pit in the center of the floor provided heat and a place to cook. The curiosity of the community members regarding the researcher was high during the entire visit. Everyone knew the researcher was there; people came by at all hours to ask questions or to simply observe.

The community stay allowed the researcher to experience daily rural life and visit a school on a consistent basis. He was able to learn about the conditions children in these schools face, attitudes community members have regarding the educational system, and the match between community needs and the educational program.

By visiting many of the schools within these 3 districts, the researcher was able to witness the

educational process as it was occurring. In each setting, teachers were willing to have the researcher visit, observe, and ask questions. The information gathered in these informal exchanges was used to validate the views of parents and administrators regarding the school environment. The teachers seemed eager to participate in the study and to show the researcher what they were doing in terms of education.

The researcher also spent time observing the field work of the PVO program. Time was spent traveling with the field workers in the process of delivering materials, purchasing supplies in the capital city, and meeting with various officials on both local and national levels. This allowed for interviews to occur in the midst of events, giving the researcher the opportunity to match what was being observed with the perspective of the field workers.

The integration of this quantitative and qualitative data will be used to explain the characteristics of the relationship between the PVO and the host government. It will ultimately provide an assessment of the PVO's process of site selection, its effectiveness, and the potential for program durability.

CHAPTER IV

RURAL FORMAL EDUCATION IN LATIN AMERICA

The economic and political structures of Latin American countries, like the rest of the world, have been conditioned by struggles over the control of resources and the access to power (Sloan, 1984). External paradigms have been utilized by various groups within the state system to achieve modernization while bypassing the full participation or integration of those in the rural communities. The continued strength of a few people to amass capital and maintain their privileged position has made it increasingly difficult for the majority of the world's population to challenge or change the resulting inequities through peaceful, nonviolent means. It is in this context that foreign PVOs operate when seeking to provide aid to the people of Latin America.

The elite have sought to transform what they perceived to be backward surroundings and traditional patterns of life into Europeanized environments of sophistication and modernity. They have assumed that a duplication of these external models of development would produce social and industrial progress. The result instead has been entrenched external dependency and an internal clash of cultures that

has affected every level of society as the state is relied on to maintain a suitable environment for economic growth, political stability, and social development (Burns, 1983; Cardoso and Faletto, 1979).

During the 19th century the countries of this region experienced independence and established autonomous governments. As foreign economic needs shifted, competing interests within each country expanded the complexity of the class structure. Groups emerged to challenge the authority and control of the traditional ruling class represented by the Crown, the Church, and the small aristocratic elite (Sloan, 1984; Stepan, 1988; Wiarda and Kline, 1985; Wynia, 1978). Independence from Spain and Portugal removed the role of external monarchies in each of the countries, only to be replaced by a small ruling elite.

The landowning aristocracy expanded to include the industrial and business elite who have sought economic advantage through the control of agricultural production, manufacturing, and finance. A bureaucratic elite emerged who have desired political predominance in order to maintain central decision-making power and privileged social status. And the military has evolved from caudillo-led bands of soldiers into a professionally trained and technologically equipped elite who covet superiority by maintaining authoritarian control.

In the 20th century, the form and distribution of power has still been debated, but in addition to that the inclusion of groups utilizing the state's resources has increased the number of people participating in and seeking benefit from the political process (Burns, 1983; Wiarda and Kline, 1985). As capitalist ideology and positivistic principles gained strength within the political apparatus of Latin American countries, governments became more technologically oriented while maintaining the underlying importance of patron-client relations.

In the midst of economic constraints and political instability, conflicts between interest groups have become more problematic as the public and private sectors debate issues related to the utilization of limited resources and of power. The differentiations in race, language, culture, family background, and wealth have resulted in social distinctions throughout the Latin American world. These differences have been reflected in the availability and content of the provision of formal education which has been used to preserve and perpetuate each society (Lethem, 1985).

Historically, the schools in Latin America were under the control and jurisdiction of the Church (Carnoy, 1974; Wiarda and Kline, 1985). In the Iberian tradition, the provision of formal education was centrally planned and implemented, which has reinforced an urban upper-class bias (Lipset and Solari, 1967). The schools and universities

took a central role in the activities and development of their towns and cities and were highly selective in who could attend (Brock and Lawlor, 1985). Emphasis was placed on degrees and tertiary education which has had little positive impact on the development and content of formal education at the lower levels (Waggoner and Waggoner, 1971; Watson, 1982).

The provision of education is utilized by the government and the people as a means of gaining modernity while functioning as a selection process that promises to the few who pass through the system job security and high monetary remuneration (Preston, 1987). It has been assumed by government officials that once a child enters the school system, they have both the desire and ability to go from one grade to the next, culminating at the university level. The few rural children who are able to finish the primary school sequence rarely have the opportunity of going on to the secondary, much less tertiary, level.

Opportunities for advanced educational training are not available in the villages or small towns, which necessitates moving to the larger cities (Conyers, 1982; Preston, 1987). The extra expenses of school supplies, room, and board make this a very remote possibility for even the few who finish primary school.

Secondary education functions as a screening process and determines the track a student will follow in the

pursuit of social mobility and economic improvement. The emphasis in the universities conditions the courses offered at the secondary level which, in turn, determines the content of education at the primary level. Proportionally, the ones who excel in the system are few and come from the upper-socioeconomic classes. The graded education system is used to prepare students for being able to advance on to the next level, not to effectively integrate their acquired knowledge into their personal lives.

Most rural schools throughout Latin America are single room, multi-class and multi-age settings where the teacher is responsible for collecting an assortment of materials; the curriculum emphasizes the values and interests of the elite (Noonan, 1987). In comparison with their urban counterparts, rural educational facilities are in poor condition; teachers have few, if any, supplies or equipment, and supervision is almost nonexistent. Rural communities are very much on the periphery of the economic and political worlds that determine the direction of national development and growth. The distances traveled each day in rural school areas by supervisors, teachers, and students are far greater than in the urban areas. The language and themes of the curriculum reflect the conditions that exist in an urban rather than rural setting.

When governments must decide which programs to fund, secondary and tertiary levels receive more allocations than

the primary level (Lewin, 1987). The majority of students in secondary and higher education come from more affluent families; the subjects taught relate to their interests. Additionally, those programs are located in towns and cities, not villages, which reinforces this class bias in the delivery and content of the service (Malassis, 1976). The bureaucratic elite hope that by purchasing innovative equipment, utilizing new technologies, and placing a focus on spending for the upper classes, the educational system will bring national economic benefit.

Public policies, such as formal education, have been used in this context as a means of providing services that will enhance economic development and political solidarity in the corporate state. Education is utilized by governments and various interest groups to promote national development in two particular ways.

First, formal education is supported by the economic elite as a means of improving the resource of human capital and thereby bringing economic recovery and improving the standard of living. The objective of formal education is to prepare the young people to be employable and economically active in the modern sector of society.

Second, the bureaucratic elite consider education to be a means of expanding the strength and legitimacy of the government structure through the cultivation of an informed and supportive citizenry. By implementing a comprehensive

program of formal education, political actors hope to increase the homogeneity of the populace and solidify the various groups into one State Body.

FORMAL EDUCATION AND ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT

As Latin American countries struggle to succeed in the international trade market, reduce their level of national debt, and lessen their dependency upon external loans, they must simultaneously respond to growing public-sector needs which threaten the status quo (Lewin, 1987; MacPherson, 1982). Economic strategies have been based on a human capital theory, which assumes that a person's participation in formal education ought to increase his/her ability to contribute to the national development process (Avalos, 1982; Halvorsen, 1990; Klaren and Bossert, 1986). An investment in education has been made with the expectation of expanding the size and quality of the labor force, and thereby, contributing to general economic growth and production (Schulz, 1968).

During the 1950's and 1960's substantial increases were made in the quantitative expansion of the service of education; funds from the United States were available through programs such as the "Alliance for Progress" (Brock and Lawlor, 1985). But, this monetary aid was given without seriously addressing the structural issues that perpetuated socio-economic inequities and the centralized political

control of the state by the elite. Despite efforts to bring change Latin American countries continue to have high unemployment rates and the majority of their people live at or below a subsistence level.

The percentage of the working age population in Latin American countries who participate in the formal sector labor force (those who earn wages and salaries) dropped from an estimated 49.7 percent in 1950 to 45.5 percent by 1980 (Wilkie, 1988). This drop occurred while governments have focused on expanding the public education sector. In addition, statistics from 1980 indicate that only 34.4 percent of the Latin American population are economically active, 40 percent were undernourished, and 42 percent were underemployed. The unemployment rate rose from 6.6 percent in 1979 to 12.1 percent in 1985. This is based only on the segment of the population which is involved in the formal work sector. These statistics, though questionable on the grounds of reliability, show in a general way the impoverished conditions of those living in Latin America.

Evolving economic conditions have allowed those controlling agricultural and industrial production to no longer need a large surplus of uneducated laborers in meeting their needs. These changes in production have favored the use of agricultural and industrial techniques that are large in scale, rather than making smaller community projects and programs a priority. Attention has

been given to modern technologies: high yield grains, labor-saving equipment, use of chemical fertilizers, pesticides, and irrigation systems, access to credit, and the expansion of international markets. These technologies have benefited the large landowners much more than the peasant farmer.

Public sector spending in areas such as formal education is expected to increase the quality of the trained laborers and reinforce the strength of the status quo. The expansion of a modern, urban-based work force is pursued through the implementation of an educational system that emphasizes the memorization of information and the routinization of particular bureaucratic skills. It is geared to producing a pool of educated young people from which selection can be made for further training in either vocational school or higher education. For this reason, it encourages out-migration by requiring the students to move to towns and cities in order to receive secondary education and prepares them for jobs that are generally found in an urban environment.

In this type of development approach, education serves the purpose of maintaining a pyramidal social structure and conditioning students to compete within it for limited employment opportunities (Escotet, 1986). Consequently, the implementation of formal education has not only disproportionately favored the higher classes and their interests, but has led to problems of distance, access, and

adequate supplies in the delivery of the service to rural populations.

The problem of distance is evident when district functionaries either cannot or do not visit rural schools with great regularity. When teachers are without proper supervision then regional directors are insensitive to important community and district differences, and national administrators remain ill advised regarding the daily issues and problems in the rural community.

Distance has a negative impact on the delivery of education by encouraging a higher level of absenteeism on the part of teachers and students (Carron, 1984). Absence from school for children is due to poor health, the daily labor needs of impoverished families, and seasonal migration. Teachers miss school because of illness, special holidays, or district-wide meetings. The high frequency of these events have a greater effect than just lost days in the classroom. The result is higher rates of grade repetition and school dropout, and lower achievement which, according to this economic model, decreases formal education's effectiveness in rural areas (Fredricksen, 1984; Hardiman and Mingle, 1982).

Studies indicate that formal education is often inappropriately designed to match the employment needs in the rural hinterland (Betscher and Kiros, 1988; Brundenius & Lundahl, 1982; Cutt, 1982; Grindle, 1986; Hardiman and

Midgley, 1982; Malassis, 1976). Evaluating the success of the education sector has been based on program costs and benefits and the rate of return on the investment that have long-term results, but limited immediate impact. This is measured by the ability of a person to pass from one grade to the next and to attain higher scores on achievement tests.

Educational reform has been utilized in an attempt to universalize school access and, thereby increase both the overall number of participants and long-term results. A continual lack of funds in maintaining the availability of services makes it difficult to form programs that are relevant to an economically and culturally diverse population.

A combination of having more students enter the system at the primary level and having less available resources limits the system's ability to respond to community needs or offer adequate universal provision. More students and less money at the primary level has caused problems of limited access and poorer quality in public education, especially in the rural areas (Escotet, 1986).

When decisions are being made on the basis of short-term planning, sectors such as education are least attractive to national politicians and financiers (Jimenez, 1987; Lewin, 1987). Limited economic resources and few short-term impacts make it difficult to increase the

allocations to and expand the services of public education by national bureaucrats. As budgets tighten, choices are made regarding the allocation and availability of resources to social services. When agencies are unable to find alternative sources of funding, programs must be drastically reduced or curtailed. Since public education is usually one of the largest elements of social expenditure, it is highly vulnerable to budgetary reductions and program eliminations.

The delivery of public education in Latin America demonstrates that an underlying gap continues to exist between the rural and urban settings (Simmons, 1980). The distribution of services and resources differs between regions, ethnic groups, and classes, benefiting those from the higher socio-economic backgrounds (Sloan, 1984). A consistent disproportionate favoritism is shown to the urban centers, especially the primate cities.

Schools were first built in the cities and then in the smaller towns. It has only been recently that the more distant villages and hamlets have received limited access to the provision. The growth and placement of rural schools reflect the importance attached to particular settlements and the underlying hierarchy that exists within the educational system. Public education in the peripheral areas of these countries lack the same quality and quantity of resources when compared with their urban counterparts.

An example of this is in Ecuador with a sizable Indian population which lives primarily in the rural locations. A study by Rosemary Preston (1987) shows significant qualitative and quantitative differences between schools in Indian and Mestizo communities. The government has used the centralization of educational resources in targeted areas to address the need for more accessibility to educational services in regions with high indigenous populations. Foreign PVOs have worked with the government to help provide resources and direct programs.

The provision of formal education was directed to key towns situated near Indian communities. Teachers, parents, and community leaders were given the responsibility to collectively participate in the formulation of school content and its integration with the needs of the community. Satellite schools were set up in surrounding aldeas which were then linked to a variety of other services (eg., health care, agricultural cooperatives). This was done to integrate these more distant locations into the political structure and provide added grassroots support for the government (Preston, 1985).

Though the provision of education has expanded under this program, the underlying disparity between the Indian and Mestizo communities in Ecuador continues to exist. The concentration of teachers and services only serve to draw

more people in from the surrounding communities rather than act as a point of departure in spreading benefits out.

The issues and problems in the rural environments tend to be interpreted according to their overall impact on national growth and not approached or remedied from a grassroots perspective. The question of who controls the state structure, and why, is important in understanding the formation of a country's development and how foreign organizations can effectively work within it to bring benefit to the least well-off.

FORMAL EDUCATION AND POLITICAL STABILITY

Latin American governments follow a combination of corporatist and/or bureaucratic-authoritarian approaches to form power relationships within the state structure that are built on cultural, economic, political, and social ties to the Iberian Peninsula of the 15th century (Wiarda, 1982). According to both of these models the authority and legitimacy of the government structure rest on its claim to being the sole representative of the interests of the people (Newton, 1974).

The elite interpret their right to rule as authorization to respond to needs of the people in the country according to their definition of state interests. This legitimacy on the part of state allows it the authority to utilize a variety of means in an effort to insure its

central control, protect its interests, and maintain its autonomy from competing groups. Power is shared with those that represent the functional interests of the state structure and its elite. Authority is given to the state apparatus by the elite to formulate and implement policies that support development goals that have been export oriented (O'Donnell, 1979).

Theoretically, the centralization of political authority enables the elite to maintain their sovereignty over resources (natural, capital, and human) and act as power brokers within the governing structure. The constitution, budgetary allocations, access to information, and relationships to the economic elite are all utilized by state leaders in an attempt to increase their influence over policy outcomes (Grindle, 1986; Tedesco, 1987).

Policy outcomes are achieved by the bureaucratic elite through the utilization of resources available to state agencies (i.e., legislation, legitimizing groups and issues, budgetary allocations, coercive organizations, and access to information) and their autonomous decision-making power. The pursuit of specific elite interests in national development is evident in the formation of particular economic and social relationships with other interest groups. Education performs an important role for the elite by creating within the minds of the people a sense of state

solidarity, especially for indigenous communities that exist on the periphery of national activity (Epstein, 1985).

The traditional hierarchical pattern of Latin American governments which attempts to control change from the top has remained while new groups and interests have had to attach themselves to this structure, producing highly tense and fragmented societies (Sloan, 1984). The inclusion of other interest groups has come as a result of their potential threat to the established corporate structure. As groups gain power they are incorporated into the State Body in an effort by the elite to maintain a type of economic development and political framework that is based on selective national interests (O'Donnell, 1979).

Corporatist-bureaucratic regimes vary in the type of authoritarianism that has been institutionalized from personalistic dictatorships (eg, Pinochet in Chile) to broader systemized tyrannies (eg, PRI in Mexico) (Wiarda, 1989). It is difficult for regimes to survive when they have been reliant upon a single charismatic leader. Those regimes which have built a broader, institutionalized base may be able to endure a variety of political problems even if their adaptation to changes within their country are less obvious.

When political legitimacy for a group is lacking, the members of that group are outside of the state structure and limited in their access to resources. Programs of

distribution and democratization will not include their interests or needs in a way that sufficiently changes the conditions they face (Sloan, 1984). It is difficult for policymakers to conceive of anything but anarchy resulting from the pursuit of pluralist principles and policies based on the open competition of individual interests.

The bureaucratic elite believe that the promotion of national goals will come only through the efficiency of a well-structured political environment that allows for the control of resource utilization in the design and implementation of public policy. Of all public sector activities, education is the most sensitive to these political forces.

These corporatist and bureaucratic-authoritarian systems are based on fragile coalitions of power contenders that use available resources and services to concretize bargains for loyalty and support in a highly centralized structure (Grindle, 1986). Those within the state structure of Latin American countries interact in a historical setting that is conditioned by ideology, interests, and policy. The autonomy of political actors varies as policies are designed and programs are implemented; it is constrained by the existing conditions represented by coalitions of actors in competition over access to resources and power (Ames, 1987).

An example of this is found in Mexico where the tertiary level of the education system is looked to by the

ruling elite as the primary source from which the next generation of political leaders will emerge (Camp, 1984). Professors within higher education function as the recruiters and socializers of the leaders for the various opposition parties. This allows for the continuation and support of underlying values and beliefs that seek to eliminate political tensions by acceptance within the corporate structure. For those within the context of Mexico, the strength of the university has rested on the coordinated role of the secondary school in preparing students for a life of service to the State Body based on a common set of expectations and academic experiences.

Those with power in the state structure implement a national formal education programs with the purpose of reaching and influencing every member of society. It is only when a child enters into the public education system that he or she becomes a potential client and citizen of the state. For the state to receive that support and allegiance, it must offer the incentives of employment, social equality, and civil security; but these items continue to be missing, even after years of education reform and implementation (OECD, 1984).

This points to an underlying contradiction when education is used by the state in this manner. The implementation of education policy has not brought equalized opportunity or participation to the rural majority even

though there are more teachers, more schools, and more students today than there were 40 years ago. The educational system continues to be used to select candidates for higher levels of training and involvement in the economic and political structure of the nation. Regardless of populist efforts by the state, development policies have consistently benefited a small segment of the population (Grindle, 1986).

Stated policies, many times, emphasize the importance of sensitivity to community interests, but the nature of central government limits the representation of local participation and perspective in the decision-making process (Harris, 1983). The ruling elite's desire to maintain power, legitimacy, and centralized control over the decision-making process influences its use of public services (Grindle, 1986; OECD, 1984; Tedesco, 1987). The result of pursuing these interests is contradictory to the state's claim that its implementation of programs, like formal education, functions as a means of empowering all members of society, especially the rural poor, to participate in and benefit from national development.

Planning in a highly centralized causes programs to be insensitive to local culture and needs, while increasing competition over power at the upper levels of the government structure. A regime is weakened by its inability to represent the interests of all those within the country

(especially the poor) as groups remain outside the political structure (Sloan, 1984).

Shunned socially, unable to alter their impoverished economic situation, and excluded from participating in the political system, the Mestizo, Indian, and Black populations of Latin America continue to struggle for physical and cultural survival in both rural and urban settings.

Seasonal work migration, subsistence farming, part-time wage labor, squatter settlements, street vending, combined with other semi-legal and illegal activities give evidence of the strategies the poor use to gain access to resources they need for daily existence. At the same time, the elite have considered the presence of the poor and their informal approaches as being primary obstacles to modernization. These pressures have heightened the conflict between the various interest groups, making it difficult to organize and coordinate development in any long term fashion (Migdal, 1974).

The state develops an infrastructure according to its definition of national interests that links together specific clientele groups (Grindle, 1986; Wiarda and Kline, 1985). Within this context, state agencies seek to increase their autonomy and strength by forming their own alliances through various organizational networks with elite and non-elite actors.

State actors are associated with various groups in an effort to accomplish the sector's goals and increase their own political longevity. The degree of influence and power on the part of a particular actor or agency within the state will vary over time based on relationships that reinforce their centralized strength and authority. Political survival is determined by an actor's ability to utilize clientelistic relationships in the midst of changing conditions. When the economy stagnates and limits resources to participating groups within the political structure tension between these interest groups increases (Wiarda, 1989).

As competition intensifies, the state tends to turn to the use of coercive force to control those who are expecting greater material and political rewards. What results is the disruption of the social and political framework and not the integration and participation of each group of society as projected by corporatist theory (Avalos, 1982). Competition and political instability have increased, while reform has become threatening and costly (O'Donnell, 1979).

Education programs have been used to support the authority of government structures and their legitimacy to pursue elite-centered development patterns that have caused further stratification with the society. The system has not sufficiently or effectively provided a basic level of educational service to match the diversity of a population

(Berstcher and Kiros, 1988). For the majority of people living in Latin America, the implementation of formal education has not produced economic growth by improving their skills to adequately increase their personal productivity, expanded the political activity or power of those living in the rural communities, nor provided a higher level of social justice by eliminating illiteracy or enhancing social mobility.

The difficult physical and economic conditions of the rural inhabitants severely limit the benefit they can derive from a formal education system that is designed for different socio-economic classes. The problems of malnourishment, lack of economic resources for basic needs, the necessity of working at an early age, and the illiteracy of a child's parents are issues that do not have as great an impact on children from middle and upper class families. Consequently a higher percentage of children from poor families have failed, and will continue to fail, in the formal education system and rarely will succeed in secondary or higher education.

When formal education is pursued by those in these remote locations it is to overcome being viewed as backward, to avoid being easily manipulated in the city or market, and to raise their status as individuals in their communities (Hardiman and Midgley, 1982). Parents enroll their children with the hope of diminishing the cultural gap between their

indigenous background and the larger mestizo world that surrounds them.

Rural formal education in Latin America continues to reflect the same characteristics it had a century ago: incomplete primary school systems, limited enrollment and low levels of attendance, high levels of repetition, secondary schools located only in the urban areas, the majority of students attending the university level come from private institutions and upper class families, low teacher quality, a lack of coordination between formal education and the work sector, a disadvantage to female students (apart from the elite and middle class), and increasing illiteracy (Brock and Lawlor, 1984).

If the purpose of education is to maintain life as it presently exists, then the core curriculum that is offered will be designed so that it limits the competition between groups. If, on the other hand, it is to prepare young people for an increasingly complex and diversified world, there must be opportunities for rewarding employment, open political participation, and social acceptance when they finish school. The availability of external resources and the willingness of PVOs to work closely with rural communities can be utilized by government agencies in making rural formal education effectively relevant.

CHAPTER V

RURAL FORMAL EDUCATION IN GUATEMALA

Guatemala is rich in natural resources compared to her Central American neighbors, has a developed industrial base, shows signs of moving toward a democratic political environment, and has a culturally diverse population. Yet, when economic growth has occurred it has not been matched by an improvement in social conditions, an expansion of employment opportunities, a redistribution of wealth and income, or political participation (Annis, 1987; Booth and Walker, 1989; Brintnall, 1979; Calvert, 1985; Carmack, 1987; Chinchilla, 1980; Concerned Guatemalan Scholars, 1981; Davis and Hodson, 1982; Galeno, 1969; Krueger and Enge, 1985; Manz, 1988; Morre, 1973; Nash, 1958; Painter, 1987; Sexton, 1972; Suslow, 1949; Torres, 1984; Wolf, 1959). The primary reason the people of this country remain so poor comes as a result of entrenched economic and political systems that allow the majority of wealth and power to remain under the control of a privileged few (Painter, 1987). While other Latin American countries have shown an evolution in their agricultural systems and class structures, Guatemala has held on to a value framework and economic base that is insensitive to an indigenous population that is extremely

poor and powerless. The economic and educational choices available to these people have expanded during the later half of the twentieth century, but always within a context established and controlled by the ruling elite.

The Guatemalan system of public education has functioned on behalf of those with economic and political power in the urban locations. The Spanish introduced the concept of formal education along with religion to bring knowledge and civilization to the indigenous people in exchange for their gold and labor (Warren, 1989). The content and provision of education focuses on the degree and title which a person receives, not on the creative integration of that knowledge into their personal or public life.

Prior to the 1940's, with a few exceptions available through religious institutions, access to formal education necessitated living in Guatemala City or a regional center. During the presidency of Jorge Ubico, from 1931 to 1944, schools were opened to Indians through legislation that required universal enrollment (Warren, 1989). This was an initial step in trying to integrate Indian involvement in the government structure.

Under the civilian governments of Juan José Arévalo and Jacobo Arbenz Guzman, the needs of the indigenous poor and a concern for rural development became more important in the design and implementation of public services. They

developed a strategy of social programs that began to shift the focus of development from the interests of the urban elite to the needs of the rural poor (Weaver, 1985; Wynia, 1972).

During the period of 1943-44, there were 966 rural public schools located in the main towns of the various districts within each department. In 1944, the Arevalo administration began increasing education spending in all areas of its budget. A special emphasis was placed on the rural areas with larger fincas. Schools were built and opened on these plantations only because of the strength of the national government to enforce its own laws over the landlords (Suslow, 1949). The implementation of this legislation affected many landowners, since most fincas employed large numbers of indigenous families.

As an example, the United Fruit Company in the department of Escuintla had thousands of people working on its plantations, many living there throughout the year, but they did not have a school. The new law required a company to build a school and provide a teacher if there were 10 or more school age children (7 to 14 years old) working on the finca. National and foreign resistance to this and other social measures was strong. One United States Government official at the time commented that from his perspective there was no reason to spend such limited resources on providing formal education for these indigenous children

when, even at age 9 and 10, they were ready to work in the fields (Suslow, 1949). Ultimately, though, the indigenous people suffered even more, because not only was the service of formal education inadequate and ill-suited to their needs, when the children did not help the families in the fields, the families earned less from their labor.

The education program initiated by the government offered 3 years of instruction, but less than 50 percent of the children enrolled went beyond the first grade, and only 4 percent reached the third-grade level. The first year was the castellanization program in which it was expected that the indigenous children would learn to speak and understand Spanish.

Schools were built at a relatively slow rate due to the high costs and limited supply of materials which were imported from the United States. With the standard of living being so very low for a majority of the populace, funds were difficult to collect, especially when the government was trying to simultaneously expand all of its public services (Suslow, 1949). It was estimated at the time that fewer than 10 percent of the children living in the rural areas were enrolled in school.

School attendance in these rural areas came at a great cost for the indigenous people. Cited as primary factors in adding expense were the broad dispersion of the indigenous families in their village communities (as compared with the

concentrated ladino communities), the lack of transport networks, and the loss of work when the children were in class. By the time a boy was 8 years old, he was working all day with his father. If a child was able to attend school, she/he would go from ages 6 to 8 years. With such a brief schooling at such a young age, the children would barely learn even the basics of literacy and math skills. Parents in these aldeas did not have the "luxury" of sending their children to school.

The children were forced to learn a culture and values that were different from those of their family and community. The school was considered by many to be a source of external regulation, rather than something that supported the local traditions and values (Warren, 1989). It was perceived to be an institution through which the indigenous societies lost members to the ladino culture. There was an observable difference between how children learned from their parents in traditional, informal ways: through everyday experiences, by observation, imitation, and participation; and what was expected from the children in the school (Wagley, 1941).

Between 1946 and 1954, over 2,000 rural public schools were opened, offering a full primary program (USAID, 1985). These rural oriented programs threatened the control and interests of national and foreign elites who were not an integral part of the Arévalo and Arbenz coalitions (Ames,

1987). This led to an overthrow of the government in 1954, which brought a reorientation of all public programs and services back to urban-based interests and the strengthening of the country's internal military forces. After 1954, the number of primary schools and students in rural areas dropped substantially.

The regimes of Carlos Castillo Armas (1954-57) and Miguel Ydígoras Fuentes (1958-63) continued this pattern of cutting back the rural development programs, including education. Of those beginning first grade in 1957, less than 1 percent were still enrolled in 1963 (USAID, 1985; Waggoner and Waggoner, 1971). This occurred while foreign aid (especially from the United States under the Mutual Security Act and the International Cooperation Administration) was increasing the government's overall revenues.

During the 1960's, the Enrique Peralta Azurdía (1963-66) and Julio César Méndez Montenegro (1966-70) administrations, under the direction of United States development agencies, stressed only selected social programs while continuing to emphasize a high military priority (Ames, 1987). Beginning in the late 1960's and into the 1970's, the recognition of growing social needs brought some expansion to programs such as education, but the overall positive social impact of those programs in the rural communities was small at best. Most of the aid and

budgetary amounts were directed toward secondary and higher education levels, which are located in the urban centers.

In the late 1970's, the government initiated tax incentives that further reduced the national revenue base and transferred allocations from social programs to capital investments. Even though the regime in 1982 tried to reverse some of these decisions, the real per capita expenditures on such programs as education were still less than they had been in 1973. Through this entire period and up to the present, the private sector has consistently resisted all tax increases and have insisted on limitations and reductions in public spending. In this setting, the goal of universal provision, as stated in the Guatemalan constitution, has become increasingly difficult to implement effectively.

The National Law of Education, Legislative Decree No.73-76 states that the goals of formal education are to enable each person to be fully integrated into society, experience physical and spiritual betterment, become responsible patriotic citizens, and participate in the progress of the nation (la Republica de Guatemala, 1976). According to this law, the primary education system is to be freely offered by the State, used alongside other national programs, and is obligatory for those between the ages of 7 and 14.

Since the early 1980's, both the economic and political elite have looked to the educational system as a means of expanding the urban-based labor market, increasing the quality and quantity of national production, and facilitating political unification. These goals have neglected the economic needs and cultural uniqueness of indigenous poor and functioned as added incentives for people to migrate to the towns and cities.

FORMAL EDUCATION AND ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT

Shortly after the coup of 1954, the elite formed an alliance among themselves in order to coordinate the process of national development. The organization that continues to represent and promote the interests of the private sector is called Comité Coordinador de Asociaciones Agrícolas, Comerciales, Industriales y Financieras (CACIF or the Coordinating Committee of Agriculture, Commerce, Industry and Finance). The local autonomy and self reliance of the indigenous communities has over the last 40 years have been eliminated by the integration of the economic elite (represented by CACIF) into the world capitalist market. This has been accomplished through the control of land and labor for the production of export goods (especially sugar and coffee) and the central authority of the political elite through the state.

CACIF views public education at the primary and secondary levels to be an inefficient and ineffective means for improving the economy. Their suggestion is to dismantle the Ministry of Education and allow the private sector to provide the service (Author's Interviews, Guatemala City, October, 1989). For this powerful economic and political group decisions regarding education access and programs are not based on personal or community needs as much as on what will encourage national development. Like their foreign predecessors in the 1940s, CACIF believes there is no reason or need for the indigenous people to be educated, since their primary function in the national economy is labor, which, in CACIF's opinion, does not necessitate formal education.

The assumptions of those in CACIF, and the upper classes whose interests and views it represents, regarding the indigenous poor and their need for formal education are as follows: the diverse languages and cultures of the indigenous people make them less able to be educated; if they are to receive a formal education, they do not need more than 3 years; their primary problem in learning to read and write is motivation, not the curriculum or access to more materials; and public education is already much too expensive, and a country like Guatemala cannot afford to educate all of its people (USAID, 1985; Annis, 1987; Warren, 1989; Painter, 1987; Carmack, 1988). Yet, according to a

1987 UNICEF report, Guatemala was at the bottom of the education ranking, with a literacy rate of less than 40 percent and less than 65 percent of the children have access to public school, both of which are even lower in the rural communities of the Guatemalan countryside.

CACIF believes that those who are most able to utilize a public service in a way that supports the national interests of growth and development ought to be the ones who have access to its provision. As the system presently works, the majority of the young people who go to the university have attended private primary and secondary schools. As an example, in Guatemala City, 41 percent of primary and secondary school students attend one of 800 private schools (Prensa Libre, October 25, 1989).

Interviews indicated that the reason students choose a private school is that the programs are more attractive than what is provided publicly. The private institutions have better facilities, more resources, smaller classes, and are socially considered superior. The combination of these factors makes it difficult for the public sector to be competitive, especially when the system is not favored nor supported by the elite.

The form of development that Guatemala continues to pursue, like most Latin American countries, has resulted in negative (not simply low) rates of economic growth (Table II). The extreme disparity between the few who are wealthy

and the majority who are poor is maintained by a strong emphasis on agricultural export production, the concentration of landholdings and low tax revenues (Painter, 1987). In addition to this, widespread political marginalization and social stratification for the majority of the populace makes the nonviolent change of these conditions difficult.

TABLE II

GDP GROWTH IN GUATEMALA: 1980-1985

	1980	1981	1982	1983	1984	1985	Average
Guatemala	3.5	0.7	-3.5	-2.5	0.5	-1.0	-.5
Central America	2.0	0.1	-2.4	1.2	2.0	0.8	.6

Sources: Inter-Hemispheric Education Resource Center, 1988; United States Agency for International Development, 1985.

Causes for these economic problems are attributed to external forces including the drop in prices for exports on the world market, a contraction of trade within the Central American Common Market, the decline of tourism, and the lack of national and foreign investment (USAID, 1985). But, fundamental to these difficulties are the limited opportunities the rural poor have to improve their economic condition by owning and working arable land.

The economic difficulties facing the majority of impoverished Guatemalans, must be interpreted in the context of the last 10 years and the political and social causes

that lie behind them. Poverty in this country has not been compounded by a natural or ecological disaster in recent years, nor is the country resource poor with its fertile land and abundance of water. As agricultural production from rural areas flows through the economic system, externally manufactured goods return forming international links with individual communities (C. Smith, 1989). Yet, locally owned businesses and enterprises that would help develop the economy in the smaller towns throughout the country have not emerged (Annis, 1987).

Over the centuries, a few families have controlled the use and ownership of the land. This has forced the indigenous populations to choose either assimilation into the ladino culture and an abandonment of their Mayan identity or isolation in the less arable terrain of the remote highlands. The majority of the population have access to a limited amount of land which is unsuited to high-yield productivity and can be worked only by traditional techniques.

Even though the amount of agricultural production has increased substantially in recent years, it has been as a result of the expansion of plantations and the growth of mechanized agricultural techniques. Only 1 percent of the estimated 10 million people who live in Guatemala control 71 percent of the arable land (Booth and Walker, 1989). Landowners (including multinational corporations) have

profited by the high productivity of the land, the low wages of the workers, and the ability to invest capital gains in foreign locations.

During the last decade, both the military and civilian governments have emphasized economic development strategies that focus on an increase in agricultural productivity (especially in the areas of nontraditional products) and capital intensive industry in the urban areas. The existence of low interest rates, a minimum-wage law, and tariff protections have limited the use of labor-intensive production. Without support from the financial community, it is difficult for a government (civilian or military) to implement programs that are going to bring appropriate economic development at the local level. For this reason, social programs, such as education, are neither sufficiently supplied nor effectively operated in ways that adequately meet the needs of the people in the rural areas.

In 1989, it was estimated that 84 percent of the population was either unemployed or underemployed (defined as working less than 8 hours per week or earning less than the subsistence income) (SEGEPLAN, 1989). Of those who earn wages, the top 20 percent earn 66 percent of the annual national income, while the poorest 20 percent receive less than seven percent of the national income. This means that of the potential wage earners (approximately 6.5 million), only 3.4 percent receive 66 percent of the national income.

On occasions, peasants are able to find wage-labor opportunities on nearby farms or in towns, but often, as is common throughout the Third World, the potential availability of regular employment necessitates long-distance travel (Grindle, 1986). When whole villages need employment, then entire families are uprooted in a migratory search for work.

Based on 1980 statistics, rural adult males received wages that were 58 percent less than those received by adult males living in Guatemala City with the same level of education (USAID, 1985). When the supply of labor exceeds the demand, as it does in both rural and urban locations, the result is to bring labor costs even lower to the point that in 1984 the real wages were below those of 1974 (Manz, 1988). These employment and wage problems are compounded by an ever growing rate of inflation.

In this setting of high inflation and a limited national budget, public services in general have been underfinanced. Between 1966 and 1984 primary education's percentage of the total educational sector budget went from 69 to 43 percent. Teachers salaries account for approximately 90 percent of the total costs in primary education, which indicates the small amount that remains for school buildings and teaching materials.

All, but 2 small programs of the public education system are financed by government revenues. Typically, user

fees have played a minor role in the allocation and supply of education services that are financed from the general revenue. National resources come through taxation or budgetary deficits which are, in turn, supported by domestic or foreign borrowing.

Ministry of Public Finance allocates funds according to a 1955 breakdown of agency divisions and services, not according to current programs. New programs require annual legislative support; money is allocated only if funds can be obtained through the Ministry of Public Finance. Even though organizational changes have occurred, the allocation procedures through the finance ministry have not altered. According to one administrator, the central control of the Ministry of Finance insures that those within the bureaucratic structure can control the allocation and use of financial resources regardless of changes between regimes.

The ineffectiveness of education-sector spending is in part a result of an insufficient amount of funds. The little attention the public-education budget receives from the national legislature has been primarily directed toward secondary and tertiary levels, to the benefit of the elite.

Economic restraints continue to be placed on the public education system, and the social sector in general, at a time when the population is growing, especially in the rural locations. The rural areas between 1976 and 1984 experienced an increase in overall enrollment of 81 percent

in the public primary schools (Table III). During the same period of time, the percentage of shared enrollment, when compared between rural and urban locations, shows a pattern of rural increase with an urban decrease. The remaining 14 percent for both 1976 and 1984 comprise enrollment in private schools.

TABLE III
SELECTED FACTORS OF RURAL AND URBAN PUBLIC
EDUCATION IN GUATEMALA (1985)

<u>Factors</u>	<u>Rural</u>	<u>Urban</u>
Estimated Monetary Benefits (per year)		
Partial Primary (Grades 1-3)	\$79	\$125
Completed Primary	\$203	\$313
Percentage of Incomplete Schools	54%	10%
Estimated Number of Years to Complete Fourth Grade	12	6
Mean Number of Students per Teacher	40	32
Percentage Increase of Total Enrollment	81%	26%
Share of Total Enrollment:		
1976	44%	42%
1984	52%	34%
<u>Growth Rate in Enrollment (1979-1984)</u>	<u>11%</u>	<u>3%</u>

Source: United States Agency for International Development, 1985.

A person living in a rural community, on average, will have less financial return from their time in school than a similar person living in an urban location. Less than 50 percent of the rural schools offer a full primary program and in order for a student to successfully complete both

primary and secondary education it usually requires a move to another location. There are more students per teacher in the rural schools which lessens the effectiveness of the school program. It is also estimated that it takes 6.2 years for a student to finish the fourth grade in an urban public school, but it takes 12.1 years if the student attends a rural public school.

Despite limited access to and lower returns from formal education, the rural schools are experiencing higher growth rates in overall enrollment. This difference in the growth of enrollment is partially due to two underlying factors. In an effort to fulfill the government's desire for universal participation in formal education the military has been used in the rural areas to enforce mandatory school enrollment. Average school attendance records of selected areas indicate that though a community shows 100 percent enrollment, on average only 65 percent of the students attend on any given day (Teacher Questionnaire distributed by researcher, Huehuetenango, Guatemala, November 1989). This means that a student is in class only 3 of every 5 school days.

The lower rate of growth in enrollment for the urban locations is due to the increased competition urban public schools are facing from the private sector. Since the income of urban residents is higher they can make the financial sacrifices necessary in order to enroll their children in a

private school which is socially and academically considered superior.

In general, the Guatemalan government has reduced the overall expenditures to formal education at the primary and secondary levels. In just one year (1981-1982) the education budget was reduced by 12 percent, and has not received increased budget amounts since the mid-70's (USAID, 1985). This has been complicated and worsened by a high rate of inflation.

The primary factor that explains why the urban schools had a decrease in their percentage share of the enrollment relates to the dramatic growth of urban-based private schools. During this same period of time, a large number of privately-operated institutions were formed, and consequently the urban public schools lost students.

The shortage of schools and teaching positions has caused increased competition to occur within the education sector. Although officially denied, teacher interviews indicated that job opportunities become available through personal contacts with district supervisors and regional directors. Up until recently, a teacher obtained work by paying the appropriate administrator for the job. The monetary cost for a position varied according to the relationship with the administrator, how many were interested in the same position, and the number of functionaries were involved in the decision. Interviews

with administrators indicated that this trend is changing in some locations; an increasing number of functionaries are refusing to "sell" positions.

School supplies which are not included in the yearly budget that pays a teacher's salary and a minimal amount for building expenses, are often dependent upon clientelistic relations between administrators within the ministry or other governmental agencies. An example of this comes from an administrator in a recently opened technical school in Guatemala City. Typewriters had been ordered and purchased, but not delivered. The administrator had to work through his personal contacts in a number of governmental offices to locate the typewriters and then had to arranged to have them delivered. After a number of weeks, with follow-up calls and visits, the situation was resolved. The administrator admitted that if he had not had a strong network of friends or if his school been located outside of the capital city, the typewriters would never have been received.

In this setting, a person must work through a patrón, friend, or supervisor if his/her requests are going to be given serious consideration (Sloan, 1984). This works against the cultural framework of the indigenous communities that have traditionally operated on a closed, autonomous basis in order to protect themselves from outside influences (Weaver, 1972).

In 1985, according to published national statistics, 1.7 million primary age students were enrolled in school (SEGEPLAN, 1989). There were 27,600 teachers--one for every 62 students--and 8,000 schools--one for every 215 students. It was estimated that over 10,000 teachers were without positions and 2.3 million children (most of whom live in rural communities) were not enrolled in school. In general, only 43 percent of the entire population has completed the third grade. This all points to another underlying problem: educational access.

Most rural communities do not have schools, which means that the children must walk a distance of up to 3 miles to attend elsewhere. The lack of availability makes the effectiveness of public education additionally limited. Urban schools do not require as far a long-distance commute and have larger staff and facilities.

The limitation of school access is compounded by the problem of language. Few of the teachers working in rural indigenous communities are bilingual, and even fewer teachers actually teach in the indigenous language. Only 10 percent of the monolingual indigenous children have access to a pre-primary bilingual program when more than 50 percent of the primary students (urban and rural combined) are monolingual indigenous children (USAID, 1985). In both the rural and urban settings Spanish is the language of instruction.

Of the children living in rural areas who began primary school in 1978, 73 percent had dropped out by 1984 (USAID, 1985). In comparison to the 1957-1963 cohort with a dropout rate of 99.3 percent, there is a 26 percent increase in the student retention rate in the rural primary schools.

The delivery of education to rural indigenous villages continues to remain a low priority for national policy and decision makers in this strongly centralized educational system. Though government officials emphasize the importance of the diverse indigenous cultures found in Guatemala, the educational system has been used to remove the existing ethnic heterogeneity. The government is contradicting its claims concerning support for the indigenous cultures by not encouraging the use of the indigenous languages and not training teachers to effectively work in these rural locations. Ultimately this could break down the already fragile political environment of the country.

FORMAL EDUCATION AND POLITICAL STABILITY

In 1986, the Vinicio Cerezo government, which represents the Christian Democratic Party, initiated a "National Development Plan" that included a specific role for formal education in expanding the influence of the state. According to this plan, the objectives of this role included raising the level of primary school attendance and

extending the bilingual-bicultural education program in the rural communities.

The plan states that one of the goals of formal education is the acculturation of the indigenous children into the ladino society of Guatemala through the provision of primary education. This objective has been implemented through the continuation of the castellanization program of the Ministry of Education (a program of bilingual-bicultural education in teaching indigenous children Spanish that was initiated in 1944 under the Arévalo government).

This program is neither multilingual nor multicultural. The use of "Spanish-only" in the public schools of the rural monolingual communities is promoted as a means to enable the children to learn reading and writing in Spanish. Their improvement in language and mathematical skills serves as the basis for their grade promotion. It is designed to instill alternative values for the ones which are concomitant to their community. It does not include an educational program that will build and develop the children's knowledge of their first-spoken language nor does it emphasize the indigenous culture (Annis, 1987; Warren, 1989).

With a strong urban-based cultural element, its content and the form of its implementation is used specifically to promote national development and political stability. The importance of a homogeneous political state, the use of only

one language, and the denial of other indigenous cultures runs counter to life at the community level.

During the 1970's, a growing number of rural communities were working with governmental and non-governmental agencies to integrate various social services into the overall community structure. Teachers were important participants in this local development.

Cooperatives were being formed to help strengthen and expand the "cottage industries" of these villages. New agricultural techniques were being tested to bring higher levels of production to the peasant farmers. The educational system, was being used to integrate each of these separate parts together; the communities had a sense of ownership over its provision (Annis, 1987).

By the end of the 1970's, highland communities in the departments of Huehuetenango, El Quiché, Totonicapán, Sololá and Chimaltenango had been targeted by the military for being taken over by armed, subversive guerrilla factions. The selection of aldeas in these areas was made on the basis of the strength and autonomy of growing community-based organizations. In an effort to reduce the threat of these communities forcing changes in land ownership and agricultural production, the Guatemalan military carefully planned and executed a counter-insurgency campaign throughout these selected geographical areas (Manz, 1988).

During the early 1980's, this internal war against the various guerrilla groups brought pillage and ruin to these remote communities; thousands of peasants were killed and hundreds of thousands were displaced. The conflict destroyed the political and social structures of these villages and replaced their culture of self-reliance and internal security with one of external dependency and fear. Their institutions of self-governance have been superseded by constant military control through the local civil patrol units. In most cases, apart from the civil patrol, the only other national institution present in these locations is the public school. This culture of fear has heightened each family's sense of obligation to enroll at least one of their children in the school program.

Negative parental attitudes regarding education are used to explain why only 60 percent of school age children (in the 7 to 14 age-group) are enrolled in primary school and are characterized by having a high level of grade repetition (USAID, 1985). Many times, the schools are considered cultural intrusions at the local level by the community members who do not have any power in the decision-making process. What impact formal education does have in terms of enhancing employment skills and political unity results in being added incentives for the rural poor to migrate to the crowded urban centers.

This is seen in a study by James Sexton (1972) on formal education in the town of San Juan la Laguna on Lake Atitlan in the department of Sololá. Though the provision of education included all the primary grades, the curriculum, at the time, was inappropriately designed for the local needs which caused the parents to have negative attitudes regarding their childrens' attendance. In order for a student to attend secondary school they would have to travel to the department capital of Solola which was impossible on a daily basis. There was also limited economic opportunities to integrate the student's education into community life. Another important point was that the school calendar conflicted with the harvest schedules which required full family participation.

The study also showed that those Indians who were more favorable in their attitudes about Ladinos were also more supportive of having their children participate in school. This reflected an increased openness on the part of the certain Indians to consider migrating to a larger town and adopting the Ladino culture in order to more effectively utilize the skills learned in the school.

The strength of a teacher's integration into a community is determined, in part, by the interest the teacher takes in the community and his/her willingness to work there for a long period of time (Ankrah-Dove, 1982). Unfortunately, few teachers are willing to make this kind of

commitment, lessening the possibility for close and cooperative school-community links. Teachers working in the local school often do not come from those communities and find it difficult to integrate into its sociocultural system. If they are unwilling to adapt to the norms of community life, then they are viewed with suspicion by the parents and community leaders.

In addition to negative parental attitudes, absenteeism is considered to be another major contributing factor to the low completion rates (Painter, 1987). The reasons for absenteeism and high dropout rates in these rural areas are multiple and conflicting: school programs lack cultural and linguistical relevance; the curricula are inappropriately designed for rural conditions; impoverished economic conditions of these families require all the older children to be working; children live in poor health conditions; the cost of school supplies is increasing; seasonal work migration displaces entire families during the school year; and schools in these remote locations rarely offer classes beyond the third-grade level. The result of these factors is that children, if they are enrolled, do not attend with a high degree of regularity; consequently, education is not occurring.

A contributing element is teacher absenteeism, which may result from a lack of motivation, limited professional accountability, geographic distance, inappropriate training,

or the limited availability of resource materials (Hornberger, 1987). When teachers do not live in the school community, they must make a daily commute from another location. If the distance is great, they often take teaching time to accomplish this trip. In most cases, teachers must rely on the existing transportation system, which has its own set of problems. The Ministry of Education itself can produce absenteeism by scheduling meetings or professionally related events that require the teachers to be gone from their schools.

There are wider political events, such as strikes, that directly or indirectly affect the amount of time a teacher has to perform her/his duties. When teachers are absent, it is difficult to maintain a positive relationship with the community. Cultural and geographical remoteness can have particular disadvantages which negatively impact a teacher's duration in the rural school.

Low teacher quality and a high rate of teacher turnover contribute to the overall lessening of an adequate educational environment. These remote rural schools are more difficult teaching environments than their urban counterparts, due to the negative attitudes by the families toward education, the poor socio-economic condition of the communities, the higher costs of administration, and the difficulty of coordinating an educational program that is relevant and consistent (Anhrah-Dove, 1982). The curriculum

of normal schools prepares teachers for work in urban environments even though rural primary schools have more than 60 percent of the total number of teaching positions.

Geographical remoteness also affects the quality and quantity of the service of education. Supervisors visit only on rare occasions, requests for classroom equipment or building repairs may take months or years to be processed, and a lack of community contact and support may mean teachers are unable to have parents participate in school related activities.

Communication within and between the various sub-units of the Ministry of Education is difficult because of distance between the offices and unclear lines of accountability and authority. For example, supervisors must rely on, and personally pay for, the use of public or private transportation to observe their districts, teachers, and schools. In many situations it requires a full day's journey for a supervisor to visit one school. This severely limits the ability of the supervisor to fulfill his responsibilities. As a consequence, there is little contact between the supervisor and the teachers. When communication does occur it is usually teacher initiated and in the supervisor's office (USAID, 1985).

National education policy states that private education is to conform to the national plans and programs for education. The facilities and programs of private schools

are to be inspected by national education officials to insure that they are complying with the laws. Local supervisors are then responsible to take the time for inspecting these schools. This activity detracts from the ability of those supervisors to spend time in the public schools to give direction and administer their programs. It also means that the private institutions are indirectly receiving a "free-rider" benefit. They must allow a public official to inspect their building and program to insure that its quality is equal or superior to the program implemented by the national government.

Centralization limits the ability of the Ministry of Education to effectively supervise the programs at the point of implementation. Not only are there too few supervisors, but they are also located in the urban areas, making meaningful and consistent contact with the rural teachers limited.

National administrators have done little to build or maintain an adequately formal school system. Though there has been an expansion in the number of schools, teachers, and consequently students that are involved in the program; the illiteracy rate remains high, and the standard of living for the majority of the people continues to be low. The urban concentration and preference of the provision continues to be evident in resource allocation and material content. This serves to encourage the migration of those

who are able to personally benefit from the castellanization program.

In a situation like Guatemala where the social fabric of rural communities has been torn apart, there is an increased need for intervention and aid. Social services have been limited and power centrally controlled as the army and the politicians have helped themselves to exploiting the country's natural and human resources through the Spanish tradition of the "spoils system" (Carmack, 1988; Suslow, 1949). The Spanish were not interested in large-scale assimilation with the indigenous populations, but rather maintained unequal separation. Colonization required a large, controllable work force, clearly defined property rights, and strong political authority (Annis, 1987; Stavenhagen, 1970).

Latin American countries with large indigenous populations are characterized by high illiteracy rates, a majority of the people living at or below a subsistence level, and a political history of successive authoritarian dictatorships. This has been repeated in Guatemala where, with only a brief exception from 1944 to 1954, each government regime (civilian and military) has focused the allocation of national resources on the interests of the elite.

In 1985, UNESCO held a conference in Guatemala City on appropriate education strategies for the indigenous people

of Central America and Panama. The Ministry of Education publicly supported the resolutions that came out of the conference and agreed to implement programs that would increase school access, eliminate illiteracy, and bring the necessary reform to allow formal education to be more appropriate to the needs of the rural communities. But, there is little evidence of any substantial change on the local level.

Over 50 percent of Guatemala's estimated population of 10 million people are indigenous and viewed by the government and economic elite more as a national burden than as a unique asset. The indigenous people of Guatemala live, primarily, in small communities and villages scattered throughout the rugged countryside. The forms of indigenous ethnicity, as depicted in customs, dress, and language, are group specific and have provided a way for these cultures to survive the last 400 years.

This is contrary to the study of Judith Friedlander (1975) who critiques the use of categories such as language, dress, and rituals to differentiate between Indian and non-Indian populations in Central Mexico. In that particular area, the Indian culture has not maintained a distinct value system or sought separation from the surrounding urban society. In Guatemala, research shows that Indianness goes beyond a low class status and includes an ethnic identity that is based on the civil-religious hierarchy of each

community in relation to the non-Indian society (Annis, 1987; Warren, 1989).

The country's urban-based ladino society, on the other hand, like the rest of Latin America, has never been as closed or isolated as the indigenous cultures found in the rural communities. The urban bias in Guatemala dates back to the 16th century when the Spanish considered the rural areas to be autonomous and self-supporting. Under the Laws of the Indies services offered by the central government did not extend into the surrounding rural countryside. The towns and cities grew and were strengthened by utilizing the technologies and values that had been developed elsewhere instead of those concomitant to the local people and region (Waggoner and Waggoner, 1971). First, the colony was--and then the nation became--dependent upon external concepts and technologies in exchange for natural resources extracted and harvested with inexpensive human labor.

The inferior status attributed to indigenous people and the importance placed on urban-oriented values has provided the setting for the ladinoization of the individual. In order for an indigenous person to be accepted and integrated into this society, he/she must exchange the dress, language, and culture of the home community for that of the city (Annis, 1987; Warren, 1989). The successive regimes during the last 35 years have been unwilling to accept ethnic diversity as a positive aspect of

the country's society, and they have sought methods of overcoming these differences through acculturation, intimidation, and force.

The limited access to schools in these rural communities combined with an inappropriate curriculum in a nonindigenous language makes the implementation of universal provision nonexistent. Compulsory education is taken to mean children are required to enroll in public school, not that the government is obliged to offer an applicable education program.

Forty years ago, Suslow (1948) observed school-age children selling cigarettes, candy, and papers on the streets, shining shoes in the plazas, and performing petty commodity work throughout the day when they should have been in school. This scenario has not changed, but has worsened with the population growth and economic deterioration that Guatemala continues to experience. Foreign investment has not proved successful in changing the disproportionate conditions that continue to leave the majority of Guatemalans impoverished and disenfranchised.

The approach suggested in the 1940's to overcome illiteracy was to address the problem from a technological perspective by increasing the amount of funding to the program and by having the program benefit the interests of the economic and political elite (Suslow, 1948). But, the problem was not just quantity. Now, as then, the issue is a

combination of having sufficient resources and carefully directing those resources toward the particular needs of the rural communities.

The training of the teachers, the organization of the program, and the curriculum must be appropriate to the conditions people face if it is going to be utilized to change the impoverished conditions. Teaching must also include strategies for helping them improve their agricultural work, sanitation and hygiene, child care, crafts, animal husbandry, and carpentry skills.

In the late 1940's and into the early 1950's, an "awakening" was occurring in Guatemala regarding the need for practical instruction in the rural communities (Suslow, 1948; Wynia, 1972). Organizations were formed and schools were built to empower the indigenous people to change their conditions. External actors intervened in that process and negated its potential for change. While negative economic and political conditions continue to exist for the majority of the Guatemalan people, external forces continue to influence the form and function of development in this Central American country. It is at this point that the discussion turns to the role that a foreign private voluntary organization can have working with the Ministry of Education in the delivery of a formal education program to rural indigenous communities.

CHAPTER VI

A PORTRAIT OF A RURAL SCHOOL TEACHER*

Each day on my route to the school in the village of Capixayo, I slip through a gate that links two worlds found in this desolate region of northern Guatemala. It is a gate that one cannot see as I ride the bus up into the mountains through a narrow ravine. It is a gate that cannot be locked, though few of the people who live within the confines of each world are able to find a path that will lead them from one to the other. It is a gate that allows me to pass from my world of comfort and choice into a realm of personal and collective suffering and external predetermination. The world to which I go each day to teach is indigenous; the world I leave in the morning and return to in the evening is ladino. I am a link between the two, but often I feel as though I am more of a perpetrator.

I catch the bus at 6:00 a.m. and ride it for an hour up into the mountains. By then, people are making their way down the main road entering Huehuetenango toward the market which opens early each day. Their buying and selling provides them with just enough to survive.

* The following account is based on the researcher's field work experience and interviews with teachers to portray the day in the life of a rural teacher.

By 7:00 a.m. the bus is high in the mountains, and I get off to begin my daily hike of 5 miles to the school. Usually, I run this path in order to give myself some extra time with the students.

Capixayo is an average sized village of approximately 60 indigenous families and is spread out over two sides of a deep canyon. There are no roads, no electricity, no piped water, no stores, no parks, no conveniences in this community, only a narrow path that leads through the patchwork of small family plots and dwellings. At an elevation of over 9,000 feet, the vegetation grows very slowly and the gardens are constantly susceptible to the night frost.

The little money these families earn comes from the harvesting of spruce trees from the forests that surround the village. Trees that are centuries old are cut down, shaped into long planks, and carried to the market. Approximately 3 years ago the use of a chainsaw was introduced to this community. This innovation has allowed the men to quickly harvest the ancient forests that surround this isolated aldea, while still selling the wood for only a few quetzales. The forests are disappearing, and when they are gone these people will be forced to live elsewhere. Without trees, the limited soil they have used for generations to plant their crops will erode more quickly, washing down the hillside with each rain storm.

When I first came here, thick forests covered the hillsides, and trees were cut selectively and slowly. Now, those forests are receding as most of the trees are being harvested. Within a year, the trees will be gone; these families will have nothing but stumps as reminders.

The government continues to allow the greed of a few people, Guatemaltecos and foreigners whose interests are alike, to take advantage of communities like this one without enabling the people to protect themselves or their future. Some of the families have had more money in the last few years, but they have not used it wisely: the men purchased horses or spent it on liquor; the military and guerrillas have expected more money, goods, and service for protection; and the cost of beans and rice in the market continue to go up.

The language spoken here is a unique dialect of Kanjopal, which makes communication difficult and uncertain. During the six years that I have taught here, I have learned enough to communicate in a limited way with the community members. Fortunately, some of the men know a little Spanish. If there is a problem with which they want me to help them, we can usually communicate. The children are the ones who have the most difficulty. They are required to learn Spanish in the school, but are unable to be helped by their parents at home.

In my judgment, none of the adults are literate, and only a few know how to sign their names. Even though children learn how to sound out words and make progress in the small amount of time they spend in school, there are no books, magazines, or newspapers in their homes and no way for them to continue building on their limited formal education.

There are approximately 90 children in the village between the ages of 7 and 10 who are the ones targeted to be enrolled in school. The families are obligated by the military authorities to have their children participate in the education program. The government's policy of primary education, under the Universal Provision Act, was originally written to provide legal access to primary education for all of the children in the country. It is implemented as a means of integrating these communities into the urban-centered culture and economy.

Some parents, of course, consider that the time the children are in school as a good diversion until they are old enough to work all day in the fields. Most, out of fear and duty, register with the school at the beginning of the year even though work from every family member is needed to alleviate their poverty.

When attending school, the children must accomplish their household chores in the afternoons. The parents do not see any immediate benefit from having their children

learn to read and write. All they know is that when their child is in school, work is not being done. When the families' subsistence depends on the result of their collective labor, it is difficult to be supportive of a culturally irrelevant school. In this setting, formal education is not considered productive labor, either economically or culturally; it is, therefore, difficult to convince people that it is worthwhile.

As a rural school teacher, I know that I will have children for 3 or maybe 4 years, and then they will be gone. This is all the time they will have in the school, and it will be their only chance for any basic education.

On any given day of the 63 who are enrolled, only 35 to 40 children will be in school. Obviously, if all the children who are enrolled came to school on the same day, then my ability to teach would diminish even more. The difficulty of working with all the students I usually have makes me very hesitant in trying to enroll the other students. I make token efforts, but only in order to fulfill my own obligations to the authorities.

I believe that the ones who will benefit the most from my instruction are those who are attending consistently. Those with a higher level of motivation are going to be the ones who will be helped from the small amount of time I can give them. Of course, my effectiveness would be improved if I had a second teacher to help me and appropriate resource

material to use, but regardless of promises from the district supervisor, additional assistance probably will not be coming. After a few years, I hope to transfer to a larger urban school nearer to my home. Then my teaching will be more effective.

Though many parents will enroll their children in school, they are unwilling to have them attend consistently. In some cases, the parents simply refuse to have their children come to school. Some families live on the outer perimeter of the school area, and their children must travel close to 5 kms (about 3 miles) each way. Some parents have older children who have gone to school, and they think the younger ones are not expected to attend. In these situations, the parents assume that only a few of the children need to be exposed.

Totals for school enrollment and attendance are much lower in rural communities such as Capixayo in comparison to the urban school that I attended in Huehuetenango. There it seemed like everyone went to school, even if it meant doing other types of work in the afternoon, such as shining shoes, street vending, or working in the family business. If a child could not go to the private school, then he/she would go to the public schools. Of course, it was always possible to know who attended a private school by the uniforms they wore.

The reasons children are absent might be similar to those in the urban environment: work, home responsibilities, or poor health. These are compounded by holidays and my own absences, due to teachers' meetings or illness, that decrease the actual number of school days. Consequently, in any given week, a student will be in class only 3 of the 5 possible days.

The government opens a school only if it believes that the community is really serious about supporting formal education. In this location that commitment was demonstrated by the community members building the school before the teacher was appointed. Ultimately the decision for extending this provision to this particular community was made by someone in a national office in Guatemala City. Once the decision is made at the national level, then the regional director can make the assignment. Like other functionaries, his only visit to this community came on the day of the school inauguration.

There had been very little contact between the community and the regional office. Most of the work took place because of a teacher from the school that previously served this aldea; he helped the community members organize themselves and fulfill the requirements.

Any contact between the community and those within the Ministry of Education is dependent upon my initiation. I am the official representative, not only of the Ministry of

Education, but of the Guatemalan government, at least, when the military is not here; at such a time as that they take that position.

In this kind of setting, it is difficult for my supervisor to judge my day-to-day performance or give suggestions that really can help me to improve. The limited supervision of teachers and administration of the educational program limits the ability of the system to provide a culturally-relevant and community-specific educational program. But it ultimately does not matter, because the people who live here need to learn how to survive in the city and towns. Only then will their lives improve and be better.

Licenciado Montéjo, the district supervisor to whom I report, knows me and has promised to help in my teaching. Even though he has no car of his own, he has made it a point to come to my school for a visit about every other year since I began. This may not seem like much, but in some other districts, supervisors do nothing. With close to 90 schools under Lic. Montejo's responsibility, how can he do more?

As a teacher I am not to pay a bribe in order to obtain a job; however, I need to be sensitive to the interests of my district supervisor to whom I am responsible. When meetings are held, regardless of the value of attending, I am expected to be there. On occasions, I have been asked to

help fill out district reports or take documents into Guatemala City for Lic. Montéjo. If I were to decline, then my supervisor could refuse a future request I might have for teaching resources, equipment, or a transfer. It does not matter what I might think or need; I am required to make my requests through my own network of contacts, but not go around or above those to whom I am directly responsible.

As an example, my wife's parents are friends of a regional functionary in the Ministry of Public Works. Even though my school and community need potable water, and materials for such a project are available, I still must be careful how and when I make the request known. If I go directly to my supervisor with a request, someone else more important in the district might receive the aid. But, to go directly to this acquaintance at a higher level might cause my supervisor to feel left out of the process. Recently a neighboring community received help with piping while they provided the labor, but it was carefully negotiated through a variety of people at both the local and regional levels.

Our hierarchical system demands strong patron-client relationships which insure that those at the bottom of each level support those at the top. This is how our system works and for me to go against the system would mean that my tenure as a school teacher would be short-lived.

This school holds a prominent position in the community both with regard to its physical location and its function

beyond classtime. It was built about 15 years ago in the center of the valley, allowing the entire community to have easy access to it. The school has served a multifunctional purpose. It is situated on one of the steep slopes of a canyon. An area was cleared and the building was constructed by the community members; some of the materials were donated by the Ministry of Public Works.

A certain level of pride went into the construction of this building that is unique to the village with its glass windows, tin roof, two doors, and a cement floor. The school furniture was constructed by the men of the village. The furniture consists of benches and writing tables that are made from rough sawed timber (like the building) from the surrounding forests. The school is the only building in the community that has a cement floor and glass windows. The rest are similar to structures that have been built here for hundreds of years, conditions that represent life from the preconquest period, not the urban 20th century.

Outside the building, a small area has been terraced to provide space for the children to play and plant a small garden. Of course, there is no electricity or piped water, but those are luxuries this community has never known. The community members use the school building for meetings, work projects, celebrations, as well as school-related activities. Despite the building's use in the community,

the school, generally speaking, is considered to be a cultural intrusion.

The culture and values of the past have been given over to each succeeding generation through oral traditions. The stories and beliefs are not recorded on paper, but in the minds and hearts of the children. One fear that the adults have is that if the children learn to read and write, they will forget the stories--and to forget the stories means the memory of the past will die. If that dies, the parents are afraid that nothing of meaning will be left.

It was 2 or 3 years after the school had been finished before the first teacher was assigned to the school. He came to the school 2, maybe 3, days a week. No one was certain if he would show up or how long school would be in session when he did come. The relationship between that teacher and the community was not positive, and the teacher did not try to resolve the problems. The community had originally high expectations and was disappointed at the outcome.

It was very different with the next teacher who actually lived here in the community. He was single, and so he was able to make the kind of changes in his own life that allowed him to develop a close relationship with many of the community members. He had started a small cooperative among the community leaders and was developing a teaching curriculum that incorporated some of the local traditions

into the school lessons. The school's experimental garden was originally his idea, and he found that it gave the community members another nonacademic reason to be involved in the school.

During the early 1980's, the conflict between the guerrillas and the military in this area was intensifying. Many families left the village; many disappeared. One of those who disappeared was the teacher. No one ever learned what had happened; most were afraid to ask. For now, the tensions have eased, and even though the killings and disappearances continue, their frequency has diminished.

The school had been vacant for about 2 years when I was appointed as the teacher. I had grown up in Huehuetenango, and when I finished normal school near Guatemala City my wife and I moved back to look for work. Since I had known the regional director and had a good relationship with the district supervisor, I was able to start teaching right after finishing normal school.

At the time I came, the community had already built up a strong resistance against the school for a variety of reasons. Very few of the parents were interested in sending their children to school. I have had to accept that resistance and to try not to change it. To do otherwise could cause the community members to have even stronger negative feelings about the school. I must work at keeping

my job first, and then try to be conscientious and responsible.

Part of the problem with the school's relationship to the community is simply the lack of funds. The limited budget of the Ministry of Education provides money only for my salary. I do not receive any funds for teaching materials or school supplies. The wooden plank walls serve as our blackboard at times when I have been able to purchase some chalk.

I think the community members expected more positive changes to follow the building of the school. Other communities closer to Chiantla, the district center, have not only received piped water, but some have health workers who make regular visits as well as agricultural experts to give advice for their small farming plots. The local people have heard about these additional benefits and want the same. They do not understand that there is more to their own development than just having some services from the government. Even if they did become literate, how could they possibly change their lives when the government denies them the freedom to empower themselves through cooperative action?

In many rural schools, like mine, lessons are given orally; the students are expected to copy the information into their notebooks. The notebooks become the textbooks, the only resource the children have.

The children must purchase small notebooks and pencils for recording each day's lesson. But these families are so very poor that even the 50 centavos (about 17c U.S. currency) for a notebook is more than a person's daily wage in any of these families. They can purchase notebooks and pencils only at the weekly market held in the neighboring town of San Felipe, about 5 miles away. The school item lacks importance when a child's mother or father is debating between buying a small supply of food or some needed clothing.

When a student's parents do not know how to read or write and there are no books in the home, then there is little chance that the student will be able to build on the few skills he/she learns at school. Since the cost of the most basic materials can exceed the combined family wage—approximately \$1 U.S. currency per day for a family of seven—it is highly unlikely that a student will be able to have his/her own materials.

Besides, where am I going to find curriculum that is really appropriate and will help bridge the gap that exists between the language the children have always spoken and the language they are being required to learn? Where will I find material that teaches them the skills they need to change this environment; not just cope with it? My training in normal school did not prepare me for what I have experienced in this rural aldea. The materials I used and

techniques I learned while in school were for an urban-school setting and are not adequate for the problems faced in this rural environment.

I do not have any textbooks to serve even as guides. The Guatemalan school system has been without official textbooks since the early 1970's, which means that standards for achievement are nonexistent. As a teacher, the only criteria that I have for establishing daily lessons are the proficiency exams given to students who wish to enter secondary school. This makes it difficult to judge whether or not I should advance a student from one grade to the next.

It is my responsibility to form lesson plans and construct class curriculum from material based on an exam most students will only hear about and never even see. I am the judge of a student's proficiency in the material covered and must decide whether or not he/she has mastered the grade's specific curriculum. A lack of teaching materials, inappropriate curriculum, and the poor condition of facilities limits my ability to provide an effective teaching environment and give each student a realistic opportunity to acquire the education necessary for advancing beyond primary level.

So far, in the 6 years of my teaching and the 15 years of the school's presence in the community, there is yet to be a student pass beyond the fourth-grade level. Most of

the students stop after the second-grade level, and only then after attending school for 4 years.

It is difficult for parents to understand the long-range impact that education can have in their families. If the people could learn to read and write, they would not be as easily exploited by the venders who come once a week to the market at San Felipe. The people of Capixayo would be able to learn more about farming techniques that would improve the production on their hillside plots of corn and potatoes. The men would be able to organize themselves to study the effects of their clear-cutting practices and the devastation that the deforestation is having in the forests that surround this village. They would be able to plan for the future, rather than to struggle for survival in the present.

The majority of teachers, like myself, working in rural schools live in another location and must commute to work. This invariably cuts into teaching time, which is especially the case when Mondays and Fridays are scheduled for long distant commutes for those who return home only on the weekends. In these more remote locations, the control and evaluation of the service becomes increasingly difficult. In addition to this, special meetings and events prevents the teachers from holding classes which ultimately impacts the opportunities the children have of being taught.

I have found that my attitude about the work in a rural area is influenced by a number of conflicting factors. Personally, it has been difficult to constantly face the cultural differences, impoverished living conditions, and nonexistent local services, especially when my family and friends are living in Huehuetenango. These facts explain how the geographic isolation of the village can create personal problems.

Economically, it would be more expensive for me to live in this rural village. I do not have any natural ties to the community. If I had been single, then I would have spent the weekends commuting to Huehuetenango or the Capital City to visit family and friends. In addition, since I have just started teaching, my salary is at the lowest level; my wife needed to be in a larger town where she could find some employment to supplement our income.

If I lived in the village, I would be a consumer in the community and not a producer. In other words, the local community members produce most of their own food, weave much of their own fabric, and build their own homes. Their small economy is based on the harvesting of lumber from the nearby forests, growing a few vegetables, and raising some sheep. These are things that I do not know how to do, and so I would be dependent upon others in the community for help and support with food and housing.

Finally, the teacher who preceded me had problems because of his close identification with the community, and I do not want that to happen to me. As long as I do not teach anything that could be interpreted as subversive or antigovernment, then I will not be considered as a threat to the military or the government. I have little to gain by losing my life, especially when the only hope these people have is to learn to be a part of the surrounding ladino culture; not separate from it.

Interruptions during school come as well. As an example, this last week, two men of the village came to the school. They needed to have the previous day's community meeting recorded in the official ledger book and signed by me as the government representative. All community activities, discussions, conflicts, and decisions are to be recorded. It took an hour of my time to write down what had occurred and sign the document. That time should have been spent working with the children to break this cycle of illiteracy and dependency.

Festivals and national holidays are constantly interrupting the routine of school. Missing a day or two in a week does not seem like much, but when I look back over the year and realize how many days were missed in total, I recognize that ultimately it is the children who are affected negatively.

The fire pits and dirt floors in these small single-room houses that have served as the dwellings for these families for generations seem to be the only alternatives open to them, unless they receive help. They live in conditions that differ little from their ancestors 400 years ago. The style of dress, source of income, language, customs, potential for change; these all remain very similar to the conditions that existed when the Spanish first came to this region.

But, that is going to change. I can see the impact that my world has had even in the short time that I have been traveling to this village. Deforestation, land erosion, lack of food, population increase, poor health conditions, and the need for a more stable economic resource base--all of these problems are forcing the people to consider moving elsewhere. Some of these families are moving from these isolated locations to the towns and capital city which are already burgeoning at the peripheries with settlements of people who live in equally miserable conditions.

I feel at times, that I continue the legacy of exploitation and conquest that has been such a fundamental part of the history of these people and this land. I feel that more often than not I function as a modern-day conquistador serving under the banner of the State to bring civilization and deliverance as defined by those in the Capital. I have not intended this to be the case, in fact,

it has been my desire to be a source of help and hope for
the people of this isolated and dying world.

CHAPTER VII

A POLITICAL ECONOMY OF PVO PROGRAM SITE SELECTION

The delivery of public services to the communities in the highland region of the Department of Huehuetenango (Map 1) has been complicated by conditions of extreme poverty, powerlessness, and human suffering. The low status of these indigenous people is evidenced by the Guatemalan government's general disinterest regarding their inadequate living conditions, the depletion of their limited natural resources, their absence in the national political process, the demise of their distinct cultures and languages, and the unrestrained use of military force that has brutalized and terrorized the region. Only a few services have been reinstated in the last 6 years after a period of intense conflict and destruction between the national military and various guerrilla groups.

As the conflict subsided, the government allowed two institutions to be established in these rural aldeas (villages); the "las patrullas" (the civil patrol units) and the public schools. The military organized the men of each community into self-protecting groups called the civil patrol. The men were armed with antiquated weapons and were

given the most basic of training. Their responsibilities include careful surveillance of the other members of their community, questioning visitors (checking their identification papers and travel permits, even though the majority of those serving on patrol are illiterate), and reporting to the local military base any unusual activity. Research indicates that these patrol units benefit the military more than the civilians and have had a negative impact on the local economy and political structure of these highland communities (Davis, 1983; Manz, 1988). No longer are these communities autonomous, self governing, and able to maintain their separate indigenous cultures.

The other institution that has been reinstated in a number of these communities is the primary school. During the period of most recent conflict between the late 1970's and early 1980's, teachers in these rural schools traveled to their communities on an infrequent basis. The schools did not receive replacements for teachers who had disappeared until the conflict had subsided. This was primarily due to the potential for difficulties associated with travel to and from these rural aldeas. Consequently, the educational system was severely interrupted for anywhere from 3 to 10 years, depending upon the community.

Those schools located near the department center of Huehuetenango were not as negatively affected by the violence as were those farther up in the highland area (Map

2 and 3). As the fighting subsided and efforts to reorganize and reestablish communities began, the government renewed its effort to provide educational service on a regular basis.

Teachers, administrators within the Ministry of Education, and community members recognize that the problems in the rural areas are great and complex. Respondents in interviews indicated that for improvements to be made in employment, health care, housing, and other basic provisions, the people of these communities at least need to become literate. The test of that literacy ought to be their ability to integrate their educational experience in a useful way as a part of their daily lives and not based only on enrollment in primary school.

Formal education ought to relate to rural life by improving the economic conditions for their agricultural labor and small, cottage industries. The educational experience should also empower the people to mobilize politically and participate in local and national decision making (Malassis, 1976).

For those at the community level, formal education is considered to be a necessary evil. Community members hope for power to rule their own lives, which rests on their ability to defend themselves and be self-reliant rather than being dependent upon outsiders (Annis, 1987; Warren, 1989). A combination of work, home responsibilities, and migration

makes the time available for a child to participate in formal education 2 to 3 years at best. Most parents hold to the attitude that this amount of formal education for a young person is sufficient and that education beyond that amount is unnecessary. But, some recognize that if they are going to experience any substantive change in their lives, some of the children need to complete both primary and secondary education.

Attending 2 or 3 years in primary school is just not enough, especially when over 50 percent of the students repeat each grade at least once before they move on to the next level (USAID, 1985). This means that even after 3 years of schooling, the majority of children have barely advanced beyond the first-grade level. This problem is only accentuated by difficulties brought on by language barriers, urban-based teaching methodologies, and inadequate materials.

Teachers and administrators expressed the opinion that a goal of formal education was to have some of the children from these rural areas go through the entire program and become health workers, teachers, and attorneys, equipped to return to the rural locations with their advanced skills. There are a few individuals in the larger towns of Todos Santos and San Juan Ixcoy (Map 2) who have done this, but the vast majority of the children do not have access to the tools necessary for them to complete the type of formal

education (as it is offered); the children who do, rarely return to the village to serve.

ADOPT-A-SCHOOL HISTORY

Through the personal relationships that existed between Licenciado Juan García (a national administrator), Professor Antonio Valdez (a district supervisor in Huehuetenango), and Alex Reiner (an American doing social work in Guatemala and Honduras), the Adopt-A-School (AAS) program came into existence in January 1984. Lic. García had first served as a public school teacher, then district supervisor in Chiantla, and was (from 1983 to 1984) the National Director of Secondary Education. This administrative position coupled with his knowledge of the Cuchumatanes area and acquaintance with the teachers working there made his involvement in the design and placement of the AAS program very important. His association with and knowledge of the rural schools eased the difficulties this foreign organization could have faced when it sought permission to work in this area.

In January of 1984, Lic. García visited the United States to speak to various groups regarding the state of public education in Guatemala. During this trip, a small group of North Americans discussed with him ways in which aid might be effectively directed to primary teachers and students. They agreed that the greatest need was in the

rural areas where the poverty of the families had such a negative impact.

Lic. García's own knowledge of the Department of Huehuetenango and the school districts of Chiantla, Todos Santos, and San Juan Ixcoy led the group to consider that area as the initial location for the project (Map 2). Through the efforts of a small group of people in the United States, the organization of AAS was formed around the concept of delivering aid directly to the rural schools. By June of that year, 8 sponsors had begun contributing and supplies were being delivered.

During this period of time, a new Minister of Education was selected and Lic. García was removed from his upper-level administrative position and transferred to oversee a vocational/technical school in Guatemala City. For a period of about 9 months, it was uncertain whether or not the AAS program would be able to develop as the organization had hoped.

Once the changes were made and the new administration was informed regarding the PVO's work, the program proceeded with complete government support. During this period of time, Lic. García was appointed as the government liaison between AAS and the Ministry of Education to watch over the organization and to assist in its work. Since 1984, the program has grown to include 70 schools and focuses on

providing basic school supplies to children in these rural communities.

AAS's statement of purpose is threefold: first, to provide basic educational supplies for rural schools in foreign countries; second, to foster communication between donors and schools; and third, to promote and support the government's formal education program in rural areas. According to an administrator in the Ministry of Education familiar with the AAS program, the hope was to respond to needs at the local level and to do it directly in order to bypass negative aspects of the national bureaucratic structure.

The organizational structure of AAS consists of a constituency group from whom donations are received, a board of directors that manages the available resources, and field workers who implement the program. The donorship reflects the personal-relationship network of those founding members, which has not spread significantly beyond those relationships.

AAS is a relatively young and small organization. Like other PVOs, AAS is a nonprofit, nongovernmental organization that is providing development-type service without cost to the recipients. It was started with a handful of people and continues to operate under the leadership of those founding members.

ADOPT-A-SCHOOL RESOURCES

Like other small PVOs, financial limitations have forced the AAS organization to utilize its resources in an specialized and cost-effective manner. The complete volunteer aspect of the organization has permitted it to function with few administrative costs. For this reason, they promote their programs with the added incentive that 100 percent of the donations go to the projects. Sponsors in the United States (i.e., individuals, families, and various groups) provide monthly donations to fund the purchase of school supplies for specific rural schools.

Program longevity depends on expanding donor support beyond the original group. Over a period of time, some donors become disinterested or experience income changes; generally, they will contribute to a PVO for only a few years (Weisbrod, 1988). Up to the time of this study, the involvement of new donors has come exclusively from word-of-mouth contact with program sponsors. A fragile coalition exists between donors and the organization, which, if not dealt with by expanding the existing donorship, could threaten the organization's existence.

Based on telephone interviews conducted by the researcher, of program sponsors (N = 32), 88 percent of the donors had first heard about the program through their personal acquaintance with one of the founding members. Six percent of the donors have become aware of the PVO through a

channel outside of direct contact from the founding members. Only the remaining 6 percent of sponsors became involved without prior contact from the founding members.

AAS does not seek financial support from large inter-governmental organizations (e.g., USAID). It would seem that the organization would be open to pursuing home-government funding in light of its close relationship with the Ministry of Education. It remains unclear why the organization has not considered financial governmental support when that could be received.

Of the donors who were surveyed, 88 percent said that it was a combination of knowing those involved in the program and the type of project itself that caused them to become involved. This shows that, for this particular donorship group, the people responsible for the implementation of the program were influential in the donors' participation and support.

The continuation of financial support is conditioned by the degree of trust on the part of donors that AAS will perform the work. Regular communication between the board of directors and the donors is important if that trust is maintained. Many of the donors indicated that the one part of the program that needs to be changed is the inadequate communication flow among the donors, the schools, and the board. The primary problem is the difficulty people face communicating with the school in a foreign language.

Thirty-three percent of the respondents indicated that communication with the AAS board has been less than adequate, and 50 percent said that contact with the sponsored school has been less than expected.

The telephone survey also indicated that 47 percent of the donors have been contributing 3 years or less, with an average monthly gift of \$25. Of those contributing, 94 percent indicated that they give to other nonprofit organizations and 41 percent give to other nonreligious organizations. Sixty-eight percent of the donors consider their involvement to be a family project (average family size is 3.2 members) and not just an activity by one individual. Ninety-four percent have a baccalaureate or higher degree, and 44 percent earn more than \$50,000 per year.

These statistics indicate that the donorship comes primarily from a well-educated, upper middle class family background. Since 94 percent of the donors first heard about the program from one of the founding members and became involved because of their acquaintanceship the data reflect those preexisting relationships. At the same time, the longevity of their giving seems to be in transition, since 56 percent indicated that they were uncertain regarding how long they would continue to be giving support.

When the donors were asked what they would want changed regarding the organization, 41 percent indicated that they would like to have more personal contact and communication among the sponsors, the schools, and the board. A common response was that when they first became involved, they thought there would be more interaction between the donors and the schools. The PVO linked donors with particular schools in the hope that their giving would become more personalized. This relationship has been an incentive for individuals and groups to participate in the program. The intent has been that a closer identification would be made between the two groups and that both would benefit in the process. Most have heard only once from their schools, shortly after they began the donorship. A number of respondents took responsibility for the lack of contact and explained that their inability to communicate in Spanish was an important negative factor, while others tended to blame the organization for not facilitating a better communication system. The donors do not know Spanish; very few of the school teachers (if any) know English.

The donors agreed that AAS, as far as they could judge, had been effective in accomplishing its stated goals. In addition, they indicated that the program should (1) be expanded to more rural Guatemalan schools and to other countries, (2) provide more teaching materials and

resources, and (3) have a full-time paid AAS representative working in Guatemala.

ADOPT-A-SCHOOL PROGRAM LOCATION

AAS has been providing basic school supplies to teachers and students in these schools for the last 6 years. Those supplies have included pencils, notebooks, poster paper, markers, small libraries (dictionary, first- and second-grade level reading books, grammar books, and books of poems and stories), pencil sharpeners, chalk, soccer balls, and blackboards. AAS has also funded other projects such as the production of lesson materials (written by local teachers), piped potable water, and cement-slab recreation areas.

Both AAS field workers and board members consider the program to be a conduit for resources, not the creator or initiator of alternatives. They have conscientiously avoided importing foreign methodologies and ideologies into the delivery of their aid. What they believe they have to offer is the provision of materials to teachers and students, without any extra expectations or conditions.

The provision could be considered as promoting a "free-rider" attitude among its recipients. There are no built-in user fees, nor is the program supported through government subsidies. There is no expectation of having the recipients make repayment for the provision or give back other goods or

services to the organization. The primary incentives for the donors in providing the resources are: the supplies are helpful in promoting the provision of education; the program addresses an economic need of poor families; and the donors receive a tax deduction.

National bureaucratic actors make decisions regarding the overall impact of the Ministry of Education, but regional and local actors are the ones who ultimately implement those policies. If the goals of those at the lower levels differ from national administrators' goals, it will affect how and why programs develop in particular communities.

Deciding the location of the AAS program has come as a result of PVO field workers and government functionaries choosing which schools will participate based on teacher cooperation with the district supervisors and the economic needs of the community. The goals of those living in the local community can also influence the process of program site selection and implementation. Their acceptance or rejection of the way a program is offered will be reflected in their level of participation and their motives for wanting the service.

A foreign PVO that is working with the government also has motives for being involved that conditions the implementation of a public service. In the case of AAS, it has been working to support the existing government service;

not expand or change that service. This has influenced the way in which the AAS program has responded to differences between the government's goals for rural public education and a community's educational needs. Data were collected from interviews with members of the AAS organization, actors in the Ministry of Education, and teacher questionnaires distributed to the 300 teachers working in the 3 districts where the AAS program is being implemented. As was mentioned earlier in this chapter, the purpose of the AAS organization is to provide student supplies directly at the grassroots level, link donors from the United States with schools in developing countries, and be supportive of the host government's system of public education.

Interviews with members of the AAS organization showed that the initial site selection choice regarding district location was based on communities that had the greatest economic and educational needs. Regional and district administrators, knowledgeable of the area and the needs in these rural public schools, allowed the design and implementation of the program to be relevant to specific needs in these schools. Seventy-two percent of the teachers participating in the program indicated that selection of their specific school occurred as a result of a visit from the supervisor. In most cases, this visit necessitated the assistance of the AAS field workers who provided the transportation for the district functionaries.

At the regional and district level teacher cooperation in supporting national goals has been an important criterion in this decision-making process. The administrators' objective is to have the formal education program effectively reflect the goals of national policy. This is defined by local functionaries as activities that will cause their work to be interpreted by the national administrators as being supportive of the national goals, regardless of the local community needs. These needs are interpreted according to national policies for education development.

The data gathered from the teacher questionnaires indicate that the primary factors in school selection have been the socio-economic level of the community; needs for materials in the school, with preference given to single-teacher, rural schools (56 of the 70 schools involved in the AAS program are single-teacher schools); the district supervisor's assessment of a teacher's level of cooperation; and an underlying desire on the part of the PVO that its provision is used effectively in advancing public education in impoverished rural communities.

AAS's approach to site selection has been to utilize their limited resources in the most cost-effective manner and to have their provision help the students in the poorer, rural communities. In order to maximize the limited AAS resources, the field workers selected schools on the basis of economies of agglomeration (Table IV). The program began

in communities that were close to main roads and, initially, in the district of Chiantla (Map 3). These communities are located relatively close to the larger district town of Chiantla and the larger regional center of Huehuetenango. These selections allowed for relatively easy distribution of the materials and for contact with community members, students, and teachers.

TABLE IV
GROWTH OF AAS BY YEAR

1984: 8 schools (one delivery)
1985: 8 schools (no new schools added; three deliveries in January, April, and August)
1986: 10 schools in May; 12 Schools in June; 19 schools in August
1987: 28 schools in January; 33 schools in April; 38 schools in July; 41 schools in August
1988: 62 schools in January; 68 schools in May; 70 schools in June
<u>1989: 70 schools (no new schools added)</u>

Source: Author's Interviews

As the number of schools participating in the program grew from 8 to 22, during the second and third years, the organization continued to concentrate its efforts in the area near Chiantla (Map 4). During the third year, the AAS field staff and district supervisors agreed that the program should concentrate in these 3 districts and not expand until the PVO had the organizational strength to do so. In the

fourth year, schools near the district towns of San Juan Ixcoy and Todos Santos were added (Map 5). These 2 more distant locations included schools that were more impoverished and had experienced intense military conflict. The schools that were added during the fifth year were in and around these 3 district centers (Map 6).

Interviews with field workers indicated that as the sponsorships increased, it became impractical, on the basis of time and costs, for schools to be selected primarily on community need. As one AAS field worker said: "Poverty in this region is everywhere. We came to a point of recognizing that each school could use our help and that our work would be enhanced by working in a more concentrated way in just one area."

When deliveries are made, the AAS field staff emphasize to the community members that the provisions are coming from donors in the United States and are without charge. According to members of the AAS organization, this is done to insure that teachers do not utilize the materials in an inappropriate way and to strengthen the tie between these isolated communities and the donors.

Even though the PVO has been pleased by the growth of program donorship, this expansion has come primary through preexisting relationship networks of the founding members. The physical limitations of a small, field-worker staff have placed barriers on how and why schools have been brought

into the program once AAS reached its present organizational size and form (100% volunteer labor, field staff included).

When the teachers were asked what AAS should be doing differently, 70 percent indicated that the organization should continue in the same manner. Of those who offered suggestions, 25 percent suggested forming a team of national coordinators in order to increase its work within the Ministry of Education, and 5 percent suggested having the organization work more from a community level toward local development.

When the respondents were asked what other organizations could be accomplishing the work of AAS, 45 percent indicated no others could be doing the same kind of helpful work. Thirty percent indicated that the Ministry of Education should be doing the work. The remaining 25 percent felt that other PVOs, foreign or national, could accomplish the work.

The PVO's confidence in teacher cooperation is measured primarily through the experience and knowledge of the district supervisors. These supervisors are considered to be the most informed about the teachers, and those who would benefit most from the provision. As one supervisor said: "We know which teachers are conscientious: who tries the hardest, who goes to school, and who does not."

At the same time, uncertainty was expressed from teachers regarding the particular requirements necessary for

participation. The shift in criteria used to select schools has created confusion on the part of the teachers regarding how their schools may gain qualification for the program. This concern from teachers seeking help has been brought to the attention of the district supervisors and regional director. One supervisor put it this way:

"Community and school selection and the forces at work allowing one to have it and another not is of great interest to us and something the teachers have expressed. In other words, the teachers have been asking the same questions about who decides which school participates and how they can become involved. They all want and need help. The problem, other than a limitation of resources, is to find ways that make our efforts the most effective in helping teachers form and develop their own educational program".
(Author's Interview, Chiantla, September 1989)

The data indicate that the school selection process has been based on a combination of both economic and political factors. Economic considerations have focused on the needs of the students in the community, but equally important has been limiting the external costs in making the deliveries, since all of the schools show resource need.

There have also been political factors that deal with selection decisions being made on the basis of which teachers are going to utilize the materials in a way that fits with the Ministry of Education's goals of program effectiveness and castellanization of the indigenous population. The lack of a clear, identifiable set of criteria for school involvement has confused some teachers in regard to how their school could qualify.

Resource limitations for the Ministry of Education and AAS have constrained the expansion of rural formal education and the PVO program. The Ministry of Education has experienced an annual decrease in the legislative funding for agencies and programs. This limits its ability to hire additional teachers for schools that are overcrowded or to build new schools in communities that need them. The PVO is constrained by its small donorship base and limited field-worker staff.

The history and development of this organization shows the importance of underlying relationship network in the initial success of a PVO working in a developing country. Decisions regarding the location of AAS activity was based on the knowledge key actors within the host government had regarding the needs in these rural communities. AAS's close association with district and regional actors has created a link to national government which provides access to this population group. The combination of these factors used in the site selection process for the AAS program influence its overall effectiveness and ultimately its durability.

CHAPTER VIII

PVO PROGRAM EFFECTIVENESS

When asked about the AAS program and the impact that it has made in the school, one teacher responded in the following way: "With the first delivery, our school received more supplies from Adopt-A-School than it has ever received from the Ministry of Education in the 18 years I have taught here." The effectiveness of a program though is more than just the ability to deliver supplies and increase the number of schools participating in such provisions. Program effectiveness includes the positive impact that a foreign PVO can have in the lives of those influenced by its service and provision, especially when the poor are involved.

The continuation of the program demonstrates that both the government and the AAS organization consider the work of providing school supplies to be important. The expansion of the number of schools participating in the program and the ability of the field workers to be involved in other related programs is viewed as a positive element of the educational process in these rural schools.

Information to understand the broader impact of the AAS program came from 2 primary sources. First, interviews were held with those involved at the local, regional, and

national levels to find out what their impressions have been of the AAS program. The interviews varied from informal conversations in front of a parent's home to scheduled meetings in an administrator's office. Second, a teacher questionnaire was distributed to approximately 300 teachers who work in these 3 school districts. The questions focused on four main areas: personal background of the teacher, school statistics, community characteristics, and the affect of the PVO's involvement in the school and community. A comparison was made between teachers involved in the program with teachers not participating to measure the overall impact of the AAS program.

For 6 years, the AAS program has operated in the school districts of Chiantla, Todos Santos, and San Juan Ixcoy (Maps 2 to 6). Of the 121 rural public schools in these 3 school districts 70 of the schools are in the AAS program. As the number of participating schools has grown, the organization has spread out from its initial area around the town of Chiantla to include schools near the towns of Todos Santos and San Juan Ixcoy.

The largest of the 3 areas is Chiantla which is geographically the closest to the city of Huehuetenango, the department capital, a town of approximately 50,000 (TABLE V). The strategic location of the Chiantla district near the capital increases the number of people living in the area and the amount of services that are available. Not only

are there more, but there are more health services, agricultural projects, and work opportunities. At the same time, there is less of a distinction between the indigenous people and the ladinos. The indigenous dress is not as often seen and the languages not as often heard; Western styles and the Spanish language predominate.

TABLE V
SELECTED AAS SCHOOL DISTRICT STATISTICS

<u>Districts</u>	<u>Chiantla</u>	<u>Todos Santos</u>	<u>San Juan Ixcay</u>
Number of Inhabitants	40,544	19,286	17,650
Number of Primary-Age Children	6,892	3,616	3,107
Number Enrolled	4,504	2,305	1,899
Number of Schools	69	29	28
Rural	66	28	27
Urban	3	1	1
AAS	45	13	12
Non-AAS	24	16	16

Source: Teacher Questionnaires, Guatemala, October 1989

Of the 70 schools participating in the AAS program 56 have a single-teacher staff and 14 have a multiple-teacher staff. The average daily attendance is 65 percent throughout the district regardless of involvement in the AAS program. The majority of students in these 3 districts stay in school only through the third grade.

Based on information the researcher collected from the regional director for this area, it is estimated that

approximately 77,000 people live in the 3 districts of Chiantla, Todos Santos, and San Juan Ixcay. The literacy rate for this area is at 22 percent, with the majority of those living in higher population areas. A person is considered literate if they have attended a minimum of 3 years of school and can complete a very basic writing test.

Information from the teachers' questionnaires indicates that there are over 21,000 primary-school-age children living in the communities where these schools are located, but that only 9,830 of those children are enrolled. The majority of these communities are isolated, monolingual indigenous villages that lack adequate food, housing, electricity, employment, and roads. More than 50 percent of the communities and villages of these 3 counties do not have schools which means that approximately another 20,000 Guatemalan children are without the opportunity to attend school.

The Ministry of Education considers normal age for the first-grade level to be 6 or 7 years. In 1983, government statistics indicated that 69.6 percent of the first graders in the rural public schools were over those ages. Of the 126,835 enrolled in the first year, only 62,703 of that age group were enrolled in the second-grade level the next year. At least 51 percent either dropped out or repeated the first-grade level (USAID, 1985). The first-year cohort group that was enrolled represented only 43.4 percent of the

total age-group population. On an average, it took the children 2 years to progress to the second grade. Of the 930,130 students enrolled in the rural primary schools, 331,230 were listed as being at the first-grade level; only 28 percent were above the third-grade level. The data from the teachers' questionnaires indicate that only 13 percent of the students in these schools, regardless of the schools' involvement in the AAS program, move beyond the third-grade level (Table VI).

These enrollment figures show that students in multiple-teacher settings tend to stay in school longer than those in single-teacher schools. Teachers have indicated that there is a general increase in the total number of students who reach the third year of schooling, and that the retention rate is improving. The only decrease in enrollment appears in the non-AAS multiple-teacher schools, when the totals for 1988 and 1989 are compared.

There is a noticeable decrease in enrollment after the third-grade level, which corresponds with the national averages and is similar to formal-education statistics for other Third World countries. There are also fewer students in single-teacher schools moving beyond the third-grade level in comparison to multiple teacher schools. This shows that teaching effectiveness is gained by having a multiple-staff setting. AAS multiple-teacher schools tend to be

TABLE VI

PERCENTAGE OF STUDENT ENROLLMENT BY GRADE
IN AAS AND NON-AAS SCHOOLS, 1988-1990

GRADE LEVEL	Pre	1	2	3	4	5	6	Average
								Enroll.
<u>1983</u> National	N/A	44	22	15	9	6	4	(87)
<u>1988</u>	13	35	24	16	9	3	1	(63)
Sing.-Teacher	11	46	26	14	3	0	0	(35)
Mult.-Teacher	14	30	23	15	11	4	3	(103)
AAS Schools:	9	39	24	17	7	2	2	(54)
Single	12	41	29	15	3	0	0	(34)
Multiple	10	36	24	17	7	4	2	(83)
Non-AAS Schools:	15	33	23	14	10	4	1	(73)
Single	17	47	22	14	0	0	0	(36)
Multiple	18	26	23	13	13	5	2	(124)
<u>1989</u>	15	32	24	16	7	3	3	(71)
Sing.-Teacher	10	39	29	20	2	0	0	(41)
Mult.-Teacher	14	31	22	15	9	5	4	(106)
AAS Schools:	9	33	26	17	8	5	3	(65)
Single	7	37	31	21	2	2	0	(43)
Multiple	11	34	23	16	9	5	2	(87)
Non-AAS Schools:	15	33	23	15	6	4	4	(75)
Single	12	43	26	14	5	0	0	(42)
Multiple	15	30	20	15	10	6	4	(118)
<u>1990 (projected)</u>	14	36	22	16	9	2	1	(81)
Single Teacher	15	38	24	16	7	0	0	(55)
Mult. Teacher	13	34	20	16	9	5	2	(121)
AAS Schools:	11	35	24	15	10	4	1	(80)
Single	14	34	26	14	10	1	1	(58)
Multiple	9	35	22	16	9	5	3	(110)
Non-AAS Schools:	15	34	21	17	8	3	2	(88)
Single	14	45	25	12	4	0	0	(49)
Multiple	18	30	19	16	9	5	3	(135)

Source: Teacher Questionnaires, Guatemala, October 1989

smaller in enrollment than non-AAS multiple-teacher schools which reflects the fact that the AAS provision is being directed to less urbanized areas.

In comparing AAS and non-AAS teachers from the information on the questionnaires, little differences were found between the two groups in age, educational background, marital status, and goals; even when comparing single-teacher and multiple-teacher schools. The average age of the teachers is 34, and they support a household of 6 people whether single or married. Seventy-five percent of the teachers are married and have an average of 3 children. There are more male than female teachers in both AAS and non-AAS schools.

A substantial difference is seen in the percentage of AAS and non-AAS teachers who live in communities where their schools are located ($P < .01$). Only 19 percent of the AAS teachers live in their school communities, as compared with 48 percent of non-AAS teachers. This is attributed to the fact that schools located in smaller communities require teachers to make a daily commute. The majority of the teachers are married and have children which makes living in a rural indigenous community more difficult and costly.

Only 10 percent of both AAS and non-AAS teachers speak an indigenous language; these are placed primarily in the larger towns to aid in multiple-teacher schools. Over the years, a few students have graduated from the primary

school, attended secondary school, and then have gone on to normal school. Some of these teachers have returned to work in their home communities.

The towns of San Juan Ixcoy and Todos Santos each have a secondary school which eliminates the need for students to migrate to Chiantla or Huehuetenango. Some of the teachers working in these schools have come from the surrounding districts, but this is the exception and not the rule. In an area where close to 100 percent of the people speak an indigenous language only 10 percent of the teachers are bilingual; and even fewer teach in the indigenous language of the community. National statistics indicate that more than 50 percent of the children attending primary school are monolingual (SEGEPLAN, 1985).

When comparing the district averages of student-to-teacher, student-to-school, and teacher-to-school with the national averages, these 3 districts show a smaller number of students per school, but a higher student-teacher ratio. On a national average, there are 32 students per teacher and 2.2 teachers per school compared with 49 students per teacher and 1.6 teachers per school in these 3 districts. This indicates that the teachers of the rural schools have larger classes and a smaller support staff than their urban counterparts where the majority of multiple-teacher schools are located.

Interviews with the district supervisor indicated that if a teacher has worked for a period of time in a single-teacher school and a position opens in a nearby multiple-teacher school, he/she would be given the opportunity to transfer. The younger, less experienced teachers tend to be placed in the more remote single-teacher schools where there are more students per class, fewer material resources, and the people in these communities predominantly speak an indigenous language.

The questionnaires indicate that AAS teachers are staying in their schools longer than non-AAS teachers. AAS teachers have been working for an average of 12 years, whereas the non-AAS teachers have been working for only 9 years. It could be that involvement in the AAS program is providing teachers with an added incentive to remain in their schools.

Only 5 percent of those working in single-teacher schools are bilingual, yet the majority are working in an environment where 95 to 100 percent of the children are monolingual and speak an indigenous language. Only 2 percent of these teachers have a university degree. When considering the school communities, the single-teacher schools are placed in smaller communities (average size of 60 families), and the multiple-teacher schools are in larger communities (average size of 160 families). This would be

expected and is consistent for both AAS and non-AAS school communities.

The size of teachers' households remains the same, which shows that the majority of the teachers are supporting an extended family with their income. Data from the questionnaires indicate that the per capita monthly income for the residents of the single-teacher school communities for both AAS and non-AAS is \$4 (U.S. currency), while the multiple teacher school communities average \$6. This is compared to the national per capita monthly income of \$56 (USAID, 1985).

These statistics indicate the difficult economic conditions people living in these locations face. It also points to the underlying disparity that exists in Guatemala between the few who are rich and the majority who are poor. The indigenous people living in these rural locations have little reason to remain in these communities when moving to a large town would provide the potential for increasing their monthly income.

All responses from participating teachers indicated that the work of AAS was important to the educational process of their schools. When asked, "Why?", 70 percent of the teachers indicated that the program had a quantitative impact in the school and had indirectly helped the economy of the families who are extremely poor. The other 30 percent indicated that AAS's primary impact had been felt by

teachers in qualitative ways; they were seeing higher student motivation in the class, greater community interest in the school, and more personal contact with the district supervisor. Teachers in both categories expressed the opinion that the program helps them accomplish their tasks by improving the provision of education.

The knowledge of the area where the program was started and a clear understanding of student needs allowed the founding members to design a program that was relevant to an immediate need of the families and important to the success of the school. For this reason, it has been accepted by local and regional actors who have supported program expansion.

When the teachers were asked why AAS was working in the their area, 79 percent stated that it was because of the poverty, 14 percent indicated that it was improving the educational system, and 5 percent cited humanitarian reasons. All respondents indicated that they felt the goals of AAS are realistic and that its involvement is beneficial to the students, families, and teachers. In the opinion of AAS and non-AAS teachers, school supplies are a fundamental need for the students. They also agreed that this need can be better met by a governmental or nongovernmental organization rather than the communities themselves because of the poverty of these families.

During the 1988 school year, a national teachers' survey was conducted by the Ministry of Education to determine the needs of the rural and urban public schools. The results of the survey matched the provision from AAS. Regional administrators and local teachers repeatedly mentioned this survey as a confirmation of the fact that AAS is responding to the needs of the teachers on a national, as well as local, level.

The strength of this need is measured by comparing schools that have been involved in the AAS program with those that have not participated. When the teachers were asked about the likelihood of foreign organizations responding to the needs in the schools, the only significant differences in the answers by AAS and non-AAS teachers are reflected in the statistics shown below (Table VII) regarding the construction of classroom furniture and improved building conditions. Teachers in both groups consider foreign organizations able to provide basic supplies and teacher resource material.

AAS teachers were not as likely as non-AAS teachers to view foreign organizations as being able to help provide furniture or improve school buildings. This difference is statistically significant and attributed to the knowledge that AAS teachers have of working with a foreign organization. They recognize the limits PVOs would have in providing aid that could be supplied by the government.

When the teachers were asked what the community members could provide, both groups strongly agreed that they could contribute physical labor in improving the facilities and constructing furniture. Construction materials for school buildings are available in small quantities through the Ministry of Public Works.

TABLE VII

TEACHER NEEDS A FOREIGN PVO CAN PROVIDE

	AAS Teachers	Non-AAS Teachers
Student Supplies	77.46%	81.71%
Teacher Resource Material	70.42%	69.51%
Graded Curriculum	9.86%	9.76%
Expanded Teaching Staff	8.45%	13.41%
Professional Advancement	21.13%	30.49%
School Furniture and Equip. (P < .05)	29.58%	48.78%
Building Expansion/Improve. (P < .05)	36.62%	53.66%

Source: Teacher Questionnaires, Guatemala, October 1989

Visiting schools on a regular basis by AAS field workers increases their ability to insure that the supplies are being used according to the organization's goals. Also, these visits have given the field workers opportunities to clarify AAS's role and purpose. Having community members present when materials are delivered insures that teachers will be accountable in the free dispersal of the supplies.

When asked about changes in attendance since the program started, 78 percent of the teachers indicated a positive increase. There were not any reports of attendance decreases. Forty-three percent of the respondents suggested that either improved teacher-community relations or improved local economic conditions were other possible contributing factors to increased student attendance. Regardless of other variables, the activity of AAS, in the opinion of the teachers, is a positive element in the changes observed in its schools.

The reluctance of parents to cooperate with teachers by sending their children to school and participating in school activities and the unwillingness of teachers to adapt to the cultural norms of a community have, generally speaking, resulted in poor teacher-community relations. This becomes especially acute when teachers commuting to the aldea view their working in the rural location as only a short-term post.

On the other hand, interviews conducted with parents and various community members did not demonstrate strong negative attitudes toward the school or the provision of formal education. No longer are these communities seeking to maintain their protective isolation; they are selectively accommodating and assimilating to the surrounding culture. It is not a question as to whether or not these communities ought to be integrated into the larger socioeconomic world.

The issues now must focus on the terms of that integration and what that will mean for the future of these communities.

When the teachers were questioned about the level of parental interest in the school program, 46 percent of the AAS teachers indicated that parents were positively interested in the school program and its related activities. This is compared with only 30 percent of the non-AAS teachers who indicated that the parents show the same positive interest in the school program ($P < .05$). This attitude is seen in an interview conducted with an Indian campesino from a village in the Cuchumatanes Highlands:

"Our community has been fortunate to have this school, which has been here for many years and Jorge as the teacher. But, some problems remain. When our children reach the third- or fourth-grade level, many cannot continue to school. Parents cannot buy the textbooks and supplies and the children are needed for work. So, when the children grow up, even though they went to school, they still cannot write more than their names. Another problem is the language. We speak Mam in this village; the children have always been taught Spanish. The parents, especially the mothers, cannot help their children. What Spanish we do know helps us in the market, but we do not know enough. As the children grow older, they wish they knew more, but it stays the same".

(Author's Interview, El Pericon, October 1989)

It is the opinion of those participating in the AAS program that the PVO's activity in their school gives the teachers and parents a reason to have more frequent, positive contact through the dispensing and use of student supplies. In addition to this, the teachers mentioned that

the supplies help to decrease the families' expenses and are an added incentive for children to attend school.

Another improvement has been that supervisors are able to visit schools and communities. The regional and national administrators recognize this aspect alone to be an important part of the PVO's aid. Government funds do not provide for transportation costs for the district supervisor's to travel to the schools to observe teachers. When the field workers have gone to make deliveries, they have taken the supervisors along. When a PVO provides transportation for district supervisors, it increases the supervisors' ability to evaluate and oversee the schools for which they are responsible.

In 1988, Escuela Unitária (the agency within the Ministry of Education that administers the one-room rural, primary school program) wanted to develop some simple curriculum guides for its teachers. With the help of AAS and its donorship, financial support for the materials was made available to a group of teachers on an experimental basis. Of the 83 rural schools that are a part of Escuela Unitaria in these 3 districts, 56 of them are participating in the AAS program.

Licenciado Miguel Dominguez, the National Director of Escuela Unitária, commented that the increased enthusiasm of the teachers has been an important result of having these materials. Through the assistance of AAS, the lesson plans

were produced and distributed to a small number of teachers throughout the various departments of the Ministry of Education as an experimental project. The material used in the classrooms has generally been written and produced by educators in other Latin American countries. Teaching material is not available because it cannot be produced locally at an affordable price. A person can purchase a textbook or a reading book by a Guatemalan, but it is so expensive that people in these remote locations cannot afford the cost. With a small amount of help from AAS, there is the possibility of producing regionally specific teaching material that will be written by teachers who will use them.

A second result of the relationship between AAS and members of the Ministry of Education has been the formation of a national PVO called Centro de Recursos Educativos de Occidente (Western Education Resource Center, CREO). CREO is working to produce teaching materials that are designed and written by teachers in these rural schools. This organization is beginning to write simple sheets of information that are easily reproducible and have been written by the teachers themselves. This has been an incentive for the teachers to think more creatively and seriously about how to make their teaching relevant and practical. The organization of CREO has been started in this last year and is already working with other PVOs from

Germany and Australia in coordinating the production of a variety of teaching materials that are written by those who will use them.

According to both regional and national functionaries, a third (unexpected) result of the work of AAS has been that the Ministry of Education in coordination with the National Association of Sugar Growers (la Asociación de Azucareros de Guatemala) has developed a program of providing basic school supplies to first grade children of sugarcane workers (Prensa Libre, Guatemala; Nov. 21, 1989). During each of the last 2 years, these provisions have been given to an estimated 40,000 students. According to both regional and national administrators, the supplies are similar in content to what the AAS program is providing, which implies that the impact of AAS's program is being felt at the national level as well as the regional level.

The work of AAS has also been noticed by USAID. Steven Newbury, USAID Director in Guatemala, indicated that his agency is interested in providing additional support for projects such as the development of lesson plans that have been written by the teachers themselves. Since such materials are not imported, but initiated and prepared by Guatemalans, USAID is open to helping with financial support.

The USAID director indicated that his organization was seeking an appropriate means of working through regional

rather than national levels, so that the delivery of their aid will be more effective. He further stated that the work of AAS is a good example of how other foreign organizations, including USAID, ought to be working in conjunction with the Guatemalan government.

When the teachers were asked how the PVO could improve its effectiveness, 54 percent suggested quantitative changes of increased aid and more frequent deliveries. The teachers suggested that the AAS organization should work toward having a larger donorship with a full time, paid staff to distribute the provisions. In addition to this, the teachers would like to have the field workers come to the schools more often than a few times each year.

The remaining 46 percent had the opinion that qualitative changes were more important. They suggested that improvements in the program should be to expand the AAS provision. Additional resources should be directed towards the particular needs of the communities and teachers, not just the basic supplies. Such resources could help the teachers communicate more effectively by having materials produced in the indigenous languages.

The results of the teacher questionnaires and information collected through interviews indicate that the AAS organization has been able to consistently provide basic school supplies to these rural communities. The effectiveness of this PVO is seen in its ability to follow

through with the material commitments it has made to each school. This kind of dependability is rare in a region like the Cuchumatanes Highlands which is known for its instability and day-to-day uncertainties. AAS has been succesful in matching its goals of aid to some of the needs found in these rural schools. This has allowed the government to be free from having to closely monitor the PVO's activities. All those involved on both local and national levels consider the program and organization to be important. This leads into the next chapter which will consider the overall durability of the AAS program and its ability to be replicated in other locations.

CHAPTER IX

PVO DURABILITY

The ability of a PVO to have the impact of its service and provision be long term rests on the strength of its relationship networks and the degree to which its program is institutionalized. When working in the area of public services, the close identification the PVO has with the government sector could limit its longevity if the political party in power is removed or if the work of the PVO is threatening to the ruling elite. The PVO must be willing to support government goals and adapt itself to the bureaucratic structure in the midst of pursuing its own organizational interests.

Government agencies are interested in locating alternative forms of resources to enhance existing public service programs (Lipset and Smith, 1989). If the involvement of small PVOs in the delivery of that service can be of benefit to a government, then regional and national administrators will work towards expanding and duplicating the PVO's activity in order to maintain this externally produced resource base. This is done by government officials to enhance the effectiveness of the public service and the legitimacy of the ruling regime.

The hypothesis discussed in this chapter is that the durability of the AAS program rests on the strength of its relationship network with various actors in the Ministry of Education while it seeks a form of institutionalization. To test this hypothesis, the researcher conducted interviews with AAS members and various regional and national administrators within the Ministry of Education. Information was collected about the strength and nature of the existing relationships between AAS and the host government, how a program like AAS could be duplicated in other locations, and if it should be taken over by a nationally based agency.

ADOPT-A-SCHOOL RELATIONSHIP NETWORK

The relationship between a small foreign PVO and its host government is important in the initial stages of the organization's growth and expansion (Lipset and Smith, 1989). Personal networks play a significant role in the life of most communities and governments of Third World countries, and if neglected can limit program effectiveness and durability (Schneider, 1988). Networks penetrate all levels of society providing organizational and institutional links between national and local levels (Corbett and Whiteford, 1983).

According to those interviewed, personal relationships with key actors have been very important to the survival and

effectiveness of the AAS organization. A strong, positive relationship network existed before the program was initiated and has conditioned where and why the program developed. Professor Roberto Jiménez, a past Minister of Education who is familiar with the AAS program, said:

"Because of preexisting personal relationships, the AAS organization was able to begin from a position of mutual trust and support with Guatemalan officials. The element of suspicion and mistrust was very low, allowing for a program to emerge that brought together this foreign PVO with the work in the public sector. The constant support by the present government of the PVO field workers has allowed this cooperative relationship to be maintained and allowed the Ministry of Education to be given recognition for the work that the PVO is actually accomplishing."

(Author's Interview, Guatemala City, November 1989)

This type of connection is important if a PVO wishes to have involvement in programs that are being implemented on a local basis. This is especially true when foreign organizations are trying to work effectively in the public sector. In this case, AAS is allowing the government to receive a major portion of the credit for the success of the program without diminishing its work or threatening its goals. But, this type of cooperation is difficult to initiate and maintain. Interviews on both the regional and national levels indicated that coordination between different sectors within the government is rarely done through official programs or policy. Usually it comes about because of underlying interpersonal relationships.

One of the values of those relationships is that national actors are in a position to link PVO resources with governmental goals and agency needs. Licenciado García (a national administrator) had the personal experience of teaching in a rural community near Huehuetenango. His knowledge was utilized by the PVO field workers in designing a program that met known needs in the schools and gave AAS the initial credibility to be accepted by the supervisors and teachers.

Close relationships with those in the national Ministry of Education can have both positive and negative effects on the PVO organization and its program. These relationships have permitted the development of a program that matches an important need in the educational system at the local level, basic school supplies. The education budget does not allow for spending in the areas of teacher resources or student supplies. AAS provisions directly benefits the students and teachers, while indirectly benefiting the Ministry of Education by providing materials those in the rural schools do not ordinarily have available to them.

Since the program is providing an important service to the local school system then it is assumed that the government is going to allow it to continue to operate. This will be accomplished if the PVO's goals and objectives match the government's and it provides a source for ongoing external resources to be utilized by the government sector.

When this occurs a government will not hinder the PVO's activity, but allow it to be replicated and will encourage the organization to have the program function for a long period of time. AAS is accepted by the Ministry of Education because it enhances the amount of school supplies without increasing government expenditures. According to the teachers this provision is making the system of education more effective by increasing the level of school attendance and making teachers more accountable. It would seem logical that the government would want to take steps to insure that the program continues by finding ways of providing incentives to the PVO for it to maintain this type and level of work.

Identification with the government makes it difficult for the organization to work in ways that would change unjust aspects of the educational system. Instead the provision acts as a reinforcement of the existing cultural and linguistical biases that exist. If the work of a foreign PVO does not threaten the ruling elite, is providing a service that compliments the government's goals and objectives, and is bringing external aid into a country without any extra conditions, then a government has little need to regulate the PVOs activity.

For the AAS program, there has not been a strong emphasis on critiquing or changing the form of the educational service. The organization has avoided being

considered a threat to the government and thereby has tried to increase its longevity in providing aid. Interviews with the organization's Board of Directors indicates that the program's focus on delivering material aid has been a positive, apolitical approach that would be adaptable to any political regime (Author's Interview, Portland, Oregon, February 1990).

Host governments do not allow foreign organizations to work in ways contrary to national goals or interests (Schneider, 1988). Political leaders consider this to be an infiltration of their responsibility and activity. They also interpret this kind of work as encouraging local communities to sidestep the authority of the government.

Foreign PVOs that are intent on working in behalf of those at the community level must collaborate with national and international actors while simultaneously guarding against being captured or considered a threat to their interests (Gorman, 1984). In a setting like Guatemala, there is resistance on the part of national leaders toward individuals and groups who work in opposition to the national goals set forth by a particular regime.

When PVOs work closely with the poor and underprivileged, governments become sensitive to the publicity surrounding issues such as economic deprivation, social isolation, cultural genocide, and the denial of political liberties (Jacobson, 1984). These issues are seen as

relating directly to national sovereignty and are to be dealt with according to government policy and programs, not foreign PVO intervention.

The authority and legitimacy of national leaders are threatened when PVOs function in this kind of advocacy manner. Opposition toward foreign organizations operating in this manner is the strongest from those who would lose from more equitable policies and programs being implemented (Wilson, 1984).

PVOs do not necessarily make their work publicly known in order to prevent undue attention. They avoid the potential constraints placed on the utilization of their limited resources by working directly at the implementation level rather than working in collaboration with other larger, more bureaucratized agencies (Bolling, 1982). By seeking out organizations and groups within the host country, the donor agency can be more properly informed regarding who needs the aid and in what form that aid should be given.

The relationship between functionaries and AAS has become a potential source of district and regional power. It provides these lower level administrators with access to resources otherwise not available. Control over these resources have the ability to increase the power and autonomy of the local actors. Actors within state agencies can increase their autonomy and strength by forming

alliances through various organizational networks with elite and nonelite actors. The degree of autonomy on the part of particular actors or agencies will vary over time, depending on how well they are able to maintain political strength through those interpersonal relations.

When PVOs like AAS are working in a closed political system, they must be sensitive to a government's attempt to use the bureaucracy for control and change. These structures can have negative results for the local populations by denying open participatory involvement in program design and resource utilization (Cleaves, 1986; B. Smith, 1984).

Capture at either community or national levels is a potential by-product of this kind of relationship. AAS made decisions at an early stage of organizational formation that encouraged a close identification with the government. The AAS Board of Directors recognize that this relationship with the Ministry of Education has caused their aid to only indirectly bring economic help to the families in these rural communities. Interviews with board members indicate that this was to establish and maintain a higher level of program durability than if the organization had taken a stronger position in favor of the indigenous communities and possibly against government policy. Contact with those at the local level (teachers, students, and community members)

usually occurs informally and only when periodic deliveries are being made.

During the course of this last year, the number of deliveries has dropped while the field workers' involvement with key administrators at the regional and district levels has increased. This decrease in deliveries has further limited the contact PVO actors have with the rural communities and has caused the organization to become more reliant upon district supervisors for input regarding program placement and school needs. This change in deliveries has been a result of more schools participating in the program combined with a reluctance of the AAS board to increase the number of field workers for helping in the delivery process. Until the AAS board is able to resolve the problem of a limited number of field staff, the program is not going to be able to expand.

Foreign organizations must be cautious in relying on the government structure when implementing their programs. Selfinterest on the part of some administrators could potentially threaten the effectiveness of a PVO working in a country like Guatemala. Interviews also indicated that having the government bureaucracy manage the entire program could ultimately be selfdefeating and the aid would not be handled as effectively.

When a political change occurs in a highly bureaucratic-authoritarian structure administrators are

removed from office and programs are either altered or curtailed. For this reason, program longevity tends to be short, when it is not tied to foreign resources and management. The involvement of foreign organizations increases the probability that a new regime or administrator would leave the existing program intact.

Relationship networks serve to give individuals and organizations access to necessary resources and also the opportunity of delivering goods and services to a target group. These networks through individuals provide organizations the opportunity to be sustainable and viable even though political changes occur in the host government.

AAS has successfully utilized its relationships in gathering financial resources in the United States and in delivering basic school supplies in Guatemala while insuring that if changes occur, its work has a good chance of surviving. The ability of the PVO to replicate its program in other locations in Guatemala or in another country depends upon the strength its financial resource base and association with various government actors, while simultaneously expanding its organizational structure and field worker staff.

Even though the AAS program is small in size and limited in resources, it is not considered to be insignificant. Both local and national administrators are knowledgeable about the program and the organization itself.

Other foreign PVOs have in the past operated in a much more clandestine fashion only to have the government request that they leave the country because of their unwillingness to be open about their true motives and actions. AAS field workers have taken the time to meet various bureaucrats within the Ministry of Education making the government aware of the PVO's presence and activities.

The relationship between AAS and actors in the Ministry of Education has also served as an initial point of empowering the PVO to get started in its work. The present success of the AAS program does not necessarily mean that it can be replicated in another location. A program cannot be replicated if it depends on particular circumstances or unique individuals to make it successful. This means that the more the AAS organization knows about a particular location and the reasons for its success there, the more likely it is that the program can be replicated where similar conditions exist.

If a PVO becomes too dependent upon the government, economically or politically, then it loses some of its nongovernmental distinctiveness and autonomy. An organization is limited in its ability to offer alternatives in the utilization of its aid when it restricts itself just to those areas where the government is working and complies with the government's agenda.

The durability of this program hinges on the strength of the personal relationships between the AAS field staff and key national administrators. As one administrator said:

"In our relationship, there is a combination of ideology, a combination of goals, and it centers on finding ways of being able to arrive at the most effective means of delivering help. In other relationships in the government institutions, with foreign organizations, in obligated relations, an organization says that it wants to help, but then tells us how and when to do the work. There is no communication. It is all one directional. They do not combine their ideals with their ideology, their stated goals with their true actions. National interests and local needs are different, and often the programs fail. In this setting, the hierarchy is very important for any program to be able to function. The assessor of the Ministry of Education has a great deal of trust in me, and with the same confidence I have in those working through AAS. This trust allows a program to be accepted and recognized more quickly. Without trust you are not able to express your doubts, goals, and thoughts about the program."
(Author's Interview, Guatemala City, September 1989)

This delicate relationship between a PVO and national government is best maintained and advanced through open dialogue and established personal contact. This reduces the amount of suspicion and mistrust a host government has of a foreign organization. If PVOs are going to be effective in this setting, they must work at cooperating with existing governmental organizations and actors. To do otherwise makes political differences and organizational obstacles impossible to resolve or overcome. This is especially true in situations where there is a high degree of corruption and

governments have been ineffective in directing large amounts of financial support toward the least well-off.

If a PVO has successfully established its program and the implementation of that program has had a positive impact on the lives of those affected by its implementation, then the PVO organization and local agencies will work towards the replication and longevity of that program. The institutionalization of a PVO program will occur only if the organization has established personal relationships with key actors in the implementation process. On the basis of these relationships a PVO will have a clearer knowledge of the needs of those receiving the aid or service.

It is difficult for foreign PVOs to maintain the important and necessary relationship with national actors which give PVOs access to the local communities while simultaneously working in ways that serve the interests and needs of those at the grassroots level. In an effort to provide the most help to the existing system AAS has adapted itself to the politics and goals of the national government, rather than risk becoming a threat to that system through a close identification with and advocacy for those in the rural communities. It is on the basis of these key relationships and its non-threatening posture towards the ruling elite that allows a foreign organization like AAS to experience program replication and institutionalization.

ADOPT-A-SCHOOL INSTITUTIONALIZATION

When a PVO program is replicated in other locations it can strengthen the durability and legitimacy of that organization. Replication is based on the ability of the PVO to expand and adapt to the circumstances it faces in a host-country. But, expanding a program is difficult for small organizations because of their limited financial resources and personnel.

According to studies conducted by the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (1988), program replication for PVOs comes from the availability of adequately trained local leadership and supportive relationships with those in the government sector. Foreign PVOs can play an important role in stimulating and supporting local organization, through "seed" money. They can train national leadership and work with other national organizations, thereby encouraging community involvement and autonomy. A selfreliant organization at the local level has the potential of increasing the long-term impact of a program by allowing it guide its own involvement and contribution to community activities.

In the case of AAS, the ability to expand and replicate the program in other geographical areas is constrained by its limited donorship and field staff. When the teachers involved in the AAS program were asked whether or not the program ought to be extended to other locations within

Guatemala, they all responded affirmatively. When they were questioned regarding how that could occur, 45 percent indicated that AAS needed more donors. From the perspective of the teachers, the only element limiting the expansion of the program to other locations was the availability of additional economic resources. In their opinion, the program was relevant and politically acceptable. Other district supervisors are knowledgeable of AAS and have made requests to participate in the program as well. It is acknowledged that what the PVO is doing has been helpful in expanding the effectiveness of rural education.

A difference exists between a government's inability to provide a service that can be met by local or foreign organizations and a government's unwillingness to respond to a need that it is ultimately responsible to address. In the first case, a PVO can work in conjunction with existing institutions to produce a more relevant public service, whereas in the second situation, a PVO becomes a stopgap measure that could ultimately threaten the existing governmental structure. Even though the work of the PVO is important in this setting, it must simultaneously work to educate governmental functionaries on their responsibility for providing the necessary resources to meet the need that the PVO is currently addressing.

As long as the PVO provides a service for a government without threatening key actors or being considered a

critical voice of that regime then it will be given the opportunity to provide its service. At the same time, when there are few if any risks to the government to have the PVO working in the country, especially in the area of a public service, then there are no incentives for the government to seek ways of institutionalizing the PVO program.

In this context, the reproducibility of the AAS program has depended on the close match between government and PVO goals. The relationship between AAS and various agencies within the Ministry of Education shows that the PVO is not viewed as a threat to the existing governmental regime. The government has not had to intervene directly in the implementation of the PVO's program for it to match national rural education goals. The organization has chosen to identify itself with the government's provision of public education without critiquing that provision.

Interviews with members of the AAS organization and administrators within the Ministry of Education indicate two different definitions of PVO institutionalization. From a PVO's perspective, this occurs when the program continues to exist, even if the organization were no longer to provide the service. As other actors in the implementation process take over the program, it becomes a legitimized segment of providing the public service.

For AAS, the provision of its funds are only for a limited period of time and should be considered short term.

Money is being provided and relationships established that will enable the recipients to benefit from the provision without having to pay it back. It is expected that at some point in the future, though that date was never stated, the work of AAS in these schools and communities will no longer be necessary. If the AAS program does cease in this area and the need for assistance still exists, then national agencies (governmental or nongovernmental) would be required to respond if the program were to continue.

The government, at both local and national levels, holds to a different view of institutionalization. Interviews indicated that local and regional actors prefer having AAS remain autonomous from the government. In the opinion of functionaries within the Ministry of Education, the amount and manner of aid would then be more constant and not vulnerable to budgetary cutbacks.

According to this definition, AAS would continue to manage and support the program indefinitely. In this long-term approach the PVO would always provide support in the same way, expanding it according to its ability to collect and distribute resources. There would be no need to create a governmental infrastructure to channel the provision.

From the perspective of government administrators at the national level, there are no incentives for having the Ministry of Education be responsible for managing and funding the program. The resources involved are limited and

tightly controlled in comparison to the work of larger PVO programs which provide more incentives for funds to be nationally managed through bureaucratic structures.

Regional and district functionaries, on the other hand, consider it advantageous to have the program partially institutionalized. Interviews indicated that administrators liked the idea of institutionalization as long as it provided them with resources that they would not otherwise have available, and allowed them to be the ones who managed those resources without any external conditions. An example of this is seen in the request to AAS from a regional director asking for a computer for his office. Before making this request, he appointed a district supervisor as the regional coordinator to work with AAS and do what ever was necessary to help it expand.

Interviews with government administrators also indicated negative aspects of PVO institutionalization. When the government is responsible for carrying out a program, distortion negatively affects its implementation. According to one administrator, this occurs when people outside the organizational structure become involved and work to accomplish their own purposes that differ from the intent of the program. If the program is institutionalized, then the potential for other aspects and circumstances to intervene can dramatically change the philosophy and goals of the program.

This shows how the Guatemalan Ministry of Education operates as a two-tiered system. On an upper level, there are the national administrators who are negotiating with other political and economic elites over the allocation of funds and the design of programs. On a lower level, there are the regional and district functionaries implementing programs in ways that justify the continued funding of their administrative positions. Regional administrators want to maintain control of resources that permit them the ability to enhance their struggling programs and not be as dependent upon national administrators for support.

Programs that require the coordination of a number of governmental and nongovernmental agencies are difficult to administer properly. This is due to corruption, favoritism, dependence of officials on external sources of resource control, and the mismatch of program needs with available administrative skills (Kohli, 1986). When foreign organizations work closely with a government agency, the structure of that relationship reflects the inequitable distribution of power within that society and serves to reinforce rather than relieve existing injustices (Minear, 1984).

The difficulty for both foreign organizations and national agencies is to find people who are qualified to give accurate information and be conscientious in their management of resources. The nationals working with AAS

felt that the PVO had adapted itself well to the "Guatemalan method" in the form and implementation of the program and thereby had insured itself of program longevity.

The organization has successfully established and maintained key personal relationships with actors at the local, regional, and national levels. Those relationships have allowed the amount of aid to be expanded and the organization to be in a position of replicating itself in other parts of the country.

If AAS maintains this position of working for, more than with, the Ministry of Education it will continue to be viewed by government actors on both the local and national levels as an indefinite source of aid. This runs contrary to the intention of the board members and donors who view the organization's involvement as being something that will end at an unspecified point in the future.

The difference between PVO and government definitions of institutionalization causes their relationship to be unstable. In order for the AAS program to continue its work in Guatemala, these organizational issues must be resolved by the PVO board of directors.

The board must decide how many more field staff should be added in order to meet the present delivery commitments and how to support that staff. The organizational policy of directing 100 percent of the donations to the program is a good ideal, but difficult to implement for a long period of

time. The current list of donors is based on close, personal relationships with the founding members of the organization. In order for the PVO to experience any longevity it must go beyond those relationships in terms of financial support.

The board must clarify how long it intends to supply the aid and how it is going to transition out of its work. If AAS intends its support to be short term then it must find ways of empowering national PVOs or the Ministry of Education to take over the work it has started. If the AAS organization considers itself to be working in just a short-term capacity, it needs to be evaluating its work in order to be effective in relating its goals to the provision of its aid.

From the Guatemalan government's perspective on both national and local levels, there is no apparent reason why the program should be limited or curtailed. At the present time, the PVO does not pose a threat to the economic or political elite and has worked within the Ministry of Education in a way that enhances the delivery of primary education. A change in government could alter the opportunity for foreign field workers to continue their service, which indicates the importance of having Guatemalans involved in the implementation of the program. For this work to be maintained, field workers must continue to follow through with their commitment to organizational goals and objectives. It is equally important that the

Guatemalan government does not interpret the PVO's work as a political threat. If the program is going to be replicated in other locations, then the level and number of PVO donorships must be expanded.

Up to this point, AAS has been successful in accomplishing its goals and has enhanced the government's program of rural, formal education in the 3 districts of Chiantla, San Juan Ixcoy, and Todos Santos. It is doing something considered important and necessary by the local administrators and has proven itself not to be a threat to national interests. Its close identification with local and regional actors gives it the potential for longer longevity if upper level political changes occur, but that has yet to be tested. It remains to be seen if the PVO will become increasingly responsive to the needs of the people in the communities they are seeking to serve.

CHAPTER X

CONCLUSION: AN ALTERNATIVE PVO MODEL

Adopt-A-School is typical of small, nongovernmental organizations which pursue altruistic goals and emphasize apolitical development activities in Third World countries. The type of aid this organization has emphasized is technological, rather than welfare, in approach within the context of formal education in the rural communities of Guatemala's Cuchumatanes Highlands.

This case study shows that the site selection process has come as a result of decisions based on the utilization of resources through their program and access to the schools in these rural locations. The effectiveness of AAS's aid has been measured by considering the overall impact the program has had in the local school. From the government's perspective, AAS's provision is seen as being appropriate and important in rural formal education. The longevity of the AAS program rests on its ability to maintain an open relationship network between its donors, the host government, and the communities that benefit from its provision while it seeks to clarify its ultimate goal of institutionalizing its work.

But even with these basic successes in program design and implementation AAS could do more to work with and for the rural communities. The strength of their existing national and international relationships, the free provision of aid, and their history of government support gives them the potential to more actively work on behalf of the least well-off. The example of this organization illustrates some of the limitations as well as possibilities foreign PVOs have when working in a developing country.

PROGRAM SITE SELECTION

Up to the present time, the decisions regarding which schools participate in the program have been made jointly by the field workers of the PVO and district level supervisors. PVOs can enable the least well-off to experience more collective benefit from the implementation of public programs, by providing opportunities for community members to participate in the decision-making process of those programs.

In the case of Guatemala, the problem with indigenous integration into ladino society is twofold. Forcibly integrating them into the national, cultural, and political arena, would destroy the few traditions they have remaining. Yet, isolating them would deny them access to the benefits of the larger society and relegate them to a continued underclass position and impoverished condition (Epstein,

1985). The PVO ought to be working towards the community's integration into the political and economic system without destroying their social fabric.

The educational system is representative of the problems related to this type of integration. The style and content of the training continues to be inappropriate for the rural cultures and needs. The system negates the benefit the indigenous lifestyles could have in broadening the impact of formal education on a national level. One response would be to find and create methodologies that build on the oral traditions of the indigenous communities in the midst of the development process.

This could be initiated by having community members more actively involved in selecting which schools should benefit from the program and how the program could best meet their needs. AAS could facilitate this type of mobilization by giving various actors (local and national) a context within which to meet and discuss important issues regarding program design and implementation. Increased authority in the decision-making process on the part of community leaders and parents could help insure that the form of education being offered in the school is appropriate to the particular community setting.

PVOs can act as a link in this process that allows ownership of the program or project to go beyond organizational or institutional boundaries. Local community

ownership of a program will increase the likelihood of it being implemented for a longer period of time, with a greater probability of success. Projects do not continue if those who are responsible to see that they are accomplished have not been involved in the consultation process and do not have ownership in the final product.

PROGRAM EFFECTIVENESS

The ability of AAS to accurately determine what to bring, where to bring it, and how to provide it has been based on the personal relationships between the founding PVO members and Guatemalans working in the area of public education at the regional and district levels. Those who were involved in designing and implementing the program were in agreement on the purpose and implementation of the provision which strengthened the potential for program success.

AAS has accomplished its stated goal of consistently delivering basic student supplies without charge to rural schools. The positive externalities of increased supervision over the teachers, the support of teacher-developed resource materials, and the initiation of a national PVO to oversee the production of those materials have increased the overall effectiveness of AAS and made its impact potentially more widespread. Though the provision of these supplies has been very important to those teachers and students who have

received them, the PVO organization could be working in ways that would encourage the content of the educational program to reflect the local needs more accurately.

The skills that public education emphasizes in these rural schools reinforce migratory employment patterns, which in turn increase absenteeism and grade repetition. The values formal education instills deny the cultural diversity that is represented by the various indigenous communities. Community members have had little ownership or control over the provision and the limited investment the national government has made in education has not brought beneficial development on either local or national levels.

Teaching in these settings needs to transcend the domain of a few professionals and become an integral part of everything that is occurring in the broader community context (Galtung, 1980). The provision of education needs to be integrated with and appropriate to the rural conditions in order to empower the local inhabitants with the tools necessary for collective improvement without having to resort to migration or external dependency.

To respond to this local educational need, the PVO could offer assistance by integrating its work with that of other organizations and projects. For the basic needs of the rural poor to be adequately met, integration must occur between formal education and other social and technical services. Education regarding health and nutrition can

increase the ability of children and parents to acquire skills in other areas as well. By combining local and national cooperation, the delivery and impact of services can improve the effectiveness of social programs (Brundenius and Lundahl, 1982). The inclusion of other groups and agencies in the process reduces the duplication of services that is common in bureaucratic settings.

By working with an existing public agency AAS has been able to specialize in the delivery of its aid , while it does not have to fund infrastructure to dispense that aid. This has been possible because of the close match between PVO and government goals in the provision of formal education. PVOs are usually unable to operate on the basis of complete volunteer labor, both in the administration of the organization and implementation of the program.

The reliance on volunteerism within the organization limits AAS's potential to expand and reduces its probability of long-term survival. High personal commitment by a volunteer field staff to organizational goals and objectives cannot be maintained indefinitely, especially when working in the Third World. If the organization is going to be able to continue its operation on a long term basis, much less expand, it must make the necessary changes of employing field staff and administration.

PROGRAM DURABILITY

The literature on small PVO organizations emphasizes the loose affiliation most organizations have with their host governments which helps to maintain organizational autonomy and accomplish organizational goals that differ from national objectives. AAS has not followed this pattern in an effort to support the existing infrastructure and to have a more substantial long-term impact. The organization has not approached the delivery of school supplies as a single event, but as a part of a larger development process that includes and supports the work of the Guatemalan government. A close relationship was built between AAS field workers and key members of the Ministry of Education which has provided the organization the opportunity to provide aid to this particular region.

One of the limiting factors of the AAS program is that it draws its resources from a small donorship group. If an organization is going to experience longevity in the implementation of its program, it must move beyond the initial cluster of supporters. In order for the aid to be given without reinforcing an approach that depends on the financial support of a few individuals, it is important for a variety of national and international sources to be found.

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AAS has successfully utilized personal friendships to build a small nucleus of donors as well as establishing good relationships with key government actors at the local and

regional levels. But this relationship networks needs to move beyond these limited connections.

PVO relationships with key government officials were used for locating and implementing the program. The PVO must seek ways of broadening its network base if its work is going to expand and represent a variety of community concerns. The positive reputation AAS has built within the Ministry of Education and the general knowledge of the PVO program at the regional and national levels gives the organization the potential of moving beyond its dependency on these initial relationships.

At a recent international conference on education in Jomiten, Thailand (March, 1990), an edited book by the World Bank entitled Improving Primary Education in Developing Countries: a Review of Policy Options was distributed. The book focuses on the breadth of issues involved in delivering primary education, but gives special attention to the need for improved managerial and administrative skills by functionaries. National agencies are in need of qualified personnel with practical experience to be able to conceptualize what impact policies will potentially make. On the district and regional levels more emphasis must be on including grassroots participation in the decision-making process and an increased ownership in policies so that they will be implemented as they are planned. In this context of policy design and implementation a foreign PVO can play an

important role in bringing national goals and community needs together by offering administrative assistance.

The educational system plays a contradictory role in the context of Guatemala. As a person in a rural community becomes literate and begins to display leadership skills by working on community improvement and organization, the military targets him/her as being subversive. Political mobilization and participation of the indigenous communities are prevented as repression from the military increases (Sloan, 1984).

AAS's involvement in these communities and the breadth of its relationship network provides the organization with the opportunity to function as an advocate for the indigenous Guatemalan people both on national and international levels. The responsibility of the PVO to function in this manner increases in a context where coercion instead of cooperation is used to accomplish the goals of a particular political regime. PVO actors at times become the only source of protection and support the poor have in advocating for their interests (Cleaves, 1986).

AAS has aligned itself with the government in order to establish a strong permanence in the delivery of its aid, but has neglected its potential role as an advocate for those who must accept the public service as it is offered. AAS can be an important, intermediary link between the host government and the local population. It can take a more

active role in advocating for the rights and needs of the indigenous populations it is hoping to benefit.

An agency, such as AAS, through their existing relationship networks, can penetrate the political structures that have limited the participation of rural communities in the decision-making process of social programs. They can enable local groups to become integrated into the state infrastructure that governs public services and thereby transform those agencies into forms of grassroots mobilization and participation.

A politically tense situation like Guatemala requires sensitivity and careful planning on the part of a PVO to operate in this manner. But, once open and trusting relationships have been established and a history of sincere concern has been demonstrated a foreign organization is in a position to move towards a closer identification with those excluded in a society while maintaining support from the host government.

Foreign PVOs can play a significant role in this transformation by encouraging the growth and development of new structures that link together those at the grassroots with those who maintain economic and political power. An organization such as AAS, which has established credibility within the government structure can move beyond that bringing together a variety of groups and interests.

As the indigenous people of Guatemala have become more conscious of the economic, political, and social differences that exist within their country and their stated rights according to the Constitution, they have become more active in expecting access to and benefits from social services such as education. For this reason, the violence against them, especially during the earlier part of this decade, has escalated as conflict intensified.

For PVOs, either foreign or national, to act as agents of community growth and development, there must be an environment of mutual acceptance and support between each segment of a national population. In an ethnically diverse setting such as this, a PVO organization can provide the catalyst for arriving at solutions through peaceful, nonviolent means.

If peace is to be experienced by Guatemala, then the government must be willing to implement programs that will provide the diverse population groups with the freedom to pursue economic improvement according to local community interests, political mobilization through participation in the existing institutional structure, and social diversity based on their indigenous cultures. AAS has taken a small step in that direction by working at establishing an important relationship network within the government to provide basic school supplies. It remains to be seen if this organization will move beyond this by seeking ways of

incorporating the indigenous people into the decision-making process itself.

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APPENDIX A

**TEACHER QUESTIONNAIRE
(SPANISH AND ENGLISH VERSIONS)**

CUESTIONARIO DIRIGIDO A MAESTROS

1. DATOS PERSONALES (no escriba su nombre)

- 1.1 Edad: _____ años 1.2 Sexo: F () M () 1.3 Estado Civil: _____
- 1.4 Número de hijos: _____ 1.5 Ocupación del(la) esposo(a): _____
- 1.6 Total de personas que dependen de usted: _____
- 1.7 Último grado de estudios cursados: _____ 1.7.1 ¿Qué carrera? _____
- 1.8 ¿Cuántos años de experiencia docente tiene? _____
- 1.8.1 En la escuela actual: _____ 1.8.2 En otras escuelas: _____
- 1.9 ¿Domina otro idioma o dialecto, además del español? Sí () No ()
- 1.9.1 ¿Qué idioma o dialecto? _____
- 1.10 ¿Cuáles son sus metas personales como maestro?

- 1.11 ¿Cuáles son, a su criterio, las principales necesidades de su escuela. Escriba en el parentesis el orden de importancia.
- | | |
|---------------------------------|--|
| () Útiles para los alumnos | () Ampliación y/o reparación del edificio |
| () Mejoramiento del curriculum | () Plazas para maestros |
| () Material didáctico | () Mobiliario |
| () Capacitación profesional | () Otro (especifique) _____ |
- 1.11.1 ¿Cuáles de estas necesidades podrían los miembros de la comunidad ayudar a resolver?

1.11.2 ¿Cuáles de estas necesidades podrían organizaciones extranjeras ayudar a resolver?

- 1.12 ¿Cuenta la escuela con un presupuesto específico independiente de la nómina de personal?
- Sí () No ()
- 1.13 ¿Con qué frecuencia se reúne con otros maestros para discutir métodos y problemas educativos?
- Semanalmente () Mensualmente () Trimestralmente () Anualmente ()
- 1.14 ¿Conoce usted las metas del Ministerio de Educación, con respecto de la educación rural del país?
- Sí () No ()
- 1.14.1 Si las conoce, ¿Cuáles son?

- 1.15 ¿Cómo define el flujo de información o comunicación entre usted y las autoridades del Ministerio de Educación?
- Deficiente () Bueno () Suficiente () Excelente ()
- 1.15.1 ¿Qué sugerencias da para mejorarlo?

2. DATOS DE ESTUDIANTES**2.1 Número de estudiantes:**

	Pre.	1	2	3	4	5	6	Total
Hombres								
Mujeres								
Total								

2.1.1 ¿Qué promedio total de estudiantes asisten diariamente a la escuela? _____

2.1.2 ¿Cuáles son las causas que provocan el ausentismo escolar? Escriba en el paréntesis el orden de frecuencia:

() Trabajo

() Responsabilidades en el hogar

() Problemas de salud

() Otras: especifique _____

2.2 ¿Cuántos estudiantes estuvieron inscritos el año pasado?

	Pre.	1	2	3	4	5	6	Total
Hombres								
Mujeres								
Total								

2.3 Número de estudiantes estimado para el próximo año:

	Pre.	1	2	3	4	5	6	Total
Hombres								
Mujeres								
Total								

2.4 Según su experiencia, del número total de estudiantes que se inscriben en el primer grado, ¿Qué porcentaje egresa del sexto?

_____ %

2.5 De los estudiantes que no culminan la educación primaria, ¿Cuál es el último grado promedio que cursan?

_____ grado

2.6 En su opinión, ¿Por qué asisten los alumnos a la escuela?

3. DATOS DE LA COMUNIDAD

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- 3.1 ¿Vive usted en la comunidad? Sí () No ()
- 3.1.1 Si su respuesta es no, ¿Qué distancia recorre diariamente para asistir a su trabajo? _____ km(s).
- 3.2 ¿Cuántas familias componen la comunidad? _____
- 3.3 ¿Cuál es el promedio total de miembros que componen cada familia? _____
- 3.4 ¿En que porcentajes de familia en la comunidad, los hijos no viven con ambos padres? _____ %
- 3.5 ¿Cuál es la principal fuente de Ingresos de la comunidad? _____
- 3.6 ¿Cuál es el ingreso promedio mensual de las familias de la comunidad? _____ quetzales
- 3.7 ¿Cuál es el número de niños en edad escolar existentes en la comunidad? _____
- 3.8 ¿Cuál es el idioma principal de la comunidad? _____
- 3.8.1 ¿Habla usted este idioma? Sí () No ()
- 3.9 ¿Cuál es la actitud de los padres de familia hacia la educación?
la apoyan () son indiferentes () no la apoyan ()
- 3.10 ¿En qué forma participan los miembros de la comunidad con la escuela? Cite algunos ejemplos:
- 3.11 ¿Desea usted mayor participación de los miembros de la comunidad para con la escuela? Sí () No ()
- 3.11.1 Si su respuesta es no, ¿Por qué?
- 3.12 ¿Cuál es el grado de Interrelación de usted con la comunidad?
Muy buena () Buena () Regular () Deficiente ()
- 3.13 ¿Qué acciones o medidas se propone realizar para el mejoramiento de sus relaciones con la comunidad?
- 3.14 ¿Qué expectativas tienen los padres y la comunidad en general, con respecto de la educación?
- 3.14.1 ¿Cuáles de estas expectativas se satisfacen?
- 3.14.2 ¿De qué manera?
- 3.14.3 Si no se satisfacen, ¿Por qué?
- 3.15 ¿Cómo define el flujo de comunicación entre usted y la comunidad?
Deficiente () Bueno () Suficiente () Excelente ()
- ¿Qué sugerencias da para mejorarlo?

4. ADOPT-A-SCHOOL (AAS)

4.1 ¿Participa su escuela en el programa Adopt-A-School (AAS)? Sí () No ()

Si su respuesta es Sí, conteste las preguntas siguientes y si No pase a la parte No. 5.

4.2 ¿Cómo fue seleccionada su escuela para participar en el programa AAS?

4.3 ¿Cuánto tiempo tiene su escuela de participar en el programa AAS?

_____ años _____ meses

4.4 ¿Qué beneficios ha recibido del programa aparte de la ayuda material? Cite ejemplos:

4.5 ¿Qué aspectos negativos puede señalar en cuanto a la participación de su escuela en el programa?

4.6 ¿Por qué piensa usted que AAS se interesa por llevar ayuda a las escuelas del area rural?

4.7 Si usted fuera responsable de entregar los materiales a su escuela, partiendo de la ciudad capital, ¿Hasta dónde los llevaría?

() Guatemala () Huehuetenango () Chiantla () la escuela

4.7.1 ¿Con qué frecuencia?

() anualmente () semestralmente () trimestralmente () mensualmente

4.8 ¿Cómo ha influido AAS en el proceso educacional de su escuela?

4.9 ¿Ha habido algún cambio en el interés y participación de la comunidad hacia la escuela desde la inclusión de su escuela en el programa AAS?

() Ha cambiado positivamente

() Ha cambiado positivamente poco

() Ha sido indiferente

() Ha cambiado negativamente poco

() Ha cambiado negativamente

4.9.1 ¿Qué otros aspectos o circunstancias podrían haber influido en este cambio?

4.10 Ha mejorado la asistencia diaria promedio de los estudiantes de su escuela con la inclusión de la misma en el programa AAS?

() Ha mejorado mucho () Ha mejorado () Es la misma () Ha bajado () Ha bajado mucho

4.10.1 ¿Qué otros aspectos o circunstancias podrían haber influido en este cambio?

4.11 Ha cambiado su comunicación con la Supervisión Técnica de Educación, a raíz de la participación de su escuela en el programa AAS?

- () Ha habido mucho más comunicación
- () Ha habido un poco más comunicación
- () No ha cambiado
- () Ha habido un poco menos comunicación
- () Ha habido mucho menos comunicación

4.12 ¿Considera usted importante el trabajo de AAS? Sí () No ()
¿Por qué?

4.13 ¿Qué sugerencias puede dar para mejorar o hacer más efectivo el trabajo de AAS?

4.14 ¿Cuáles cree usted que son las metas de AAS?

4.14.1 ¿Cree usted que estas metas son realistas? Sí () No ()

4.14.2 ¿Qué factores piensa usted que puedan limitar la realización de estas metas?

4.15 ¿Qué otras organizaciones o instituciones podrían realizar el trabajo que AAS realiza actualmente?

4.16 ¿Cree usted que este programa debe extenderse a otras comunidades o distritos?
Si es así, ¿Cómo?

4.17 ¿Qué sugerencias da para mejorar la comunicación entre su escuela y AAS?

5. OTRAS ORGANIZACIONES O INSTITUCIONES

5.1 ¿Existe en la comunidad alguna organización, institución o empresa, nacional o extranjera que colabora con su desarrollo? Sí () No ()

¿Cuáles?

5.1.1 ¿De qué manera cooperan con la comunidad?

5.1.2 ¿Han brindado estas organizaciones, instituciones o empresas ayuda a la educación de su escuela? Sí () No ()

¿De qué manera?

5.1.3 ¿Cree usted que estas organizaciones, instituciones o empresas están orientando adecuadamente su ayuda para la satisfacción de las necesidades básicas de la comunidad?

Sí () No ()

¿Por qué?

Muchas gracias por su cooperación. Favor de agregar cualquier comentario sobre la relación que existe entre AAS y la educación rural.

TEACHER QUESTIONNAIRE

1. PERSONAL INFORMATION (do not write your name)

- 1.1 Age: ____ years 1.2 Sex: F () M () 1.3 Civil state _____
- 1.4 Number of children: _____ 1.5 Occupation of spouse: _____
- 1.6 Number of dependents: _____
- 1.7 Level of education completed: _____ 1.7.1 What track? _____
- 1.8 Teaching experience: _____ years
- 1.8.1 In your current school? _____ 1.8.2 In other schools? _____
- 1.9 Are you bilingual? Yes () No ()
- 1.9.1 If so, in what language of dialect? _____
- 1.10 What are your personal goals as a teacher?
- 1.11 What are, in your opinion, the principle needs of your school? Write in the parenthesis the order of importance.
- | | |
|--|---|
| () Student schools supplies | () Enlargement + /or repair of the school building |
| () Improved curriculum | () More teacher job positions in each school |
| () Teaching materials | () Furniture, equipment |
| () Professional instruction, in-service | () other (specify) _____ |
- 1.11.1 Which of these needs would the members of the community be able to help resolve?
- 1.11.2 Which of these needs would foreign organizations be able to help resolve?
- 1.12 Does the school have a specific operating budget for anything other than the personnel?
Yes () No ()
- 1.13 How often do you get together with other teachers to discuss educational methods and problems?
- 1.14 Do you know the goals of the Ministry of Education for rural education?
Yes () No ()
- 1.14.1 If you know them, what are they?
- 1.15 How would you define the flow of information or communication between you and the authorities of the Ministry of Education?
- | | | |
|---------------|----------|----------|
| Deficient () | Good () | Okay () |
| Excellent () | | |
- 1.15.1 What suggestion do you have to improve it?

2. STUDENT INFORMATION

211

2.1 Number of students:

	Pre.	1	2	3	4	5	6	Total
Hombres								
Mujeres								
Total								

2.1.1 What average number of students attend daily? _____

2.1.2 What are the causes of school absenteeism? Write in the parenthesis the order of frequency:

☐ Work
☐ Health problems

☐ Responsibilities in the home
☐ Other: (Specify) _____

2.2 How many students were enrolled last year?

	Pre.	1	2	3	4	5	6	Total
Hombres								
Mujeres								
Total								

2.3 Estimated number of students for next year?

	Pre.	1	2	3	4	5	6	Total
Hombres								
Mujeres								
Total								

2.4 According to your experience, what percentage of the students that enroll in first grade graduate from the sixth grade? _____ %

2.5 Of the students that do not finish primary education, what is the average grade completed?
_____ grade

2.6 In your opinion, why do the students attend school?

3. COMMUNITY INFORMATION

3.1 Do you live in the community? Yes () No ()

3.1.1 If your response is no, how far do you travel daily to arrive at your job?
_____ km(s).

3.2 How many families live in the community? _____

3.3 What is the average number of each family? _____

3.4 What percentage of the families are single parent families? _____ %

3.5 What is the main source of income of the community? _____

3.6 What is the average monthly income for the families in the community?
_____ quetzales

3.7 What is the number of school-age children that live in the community? _____

3.8 What is the primary language of the community? _____

3.8.1 Do you speak this language? Yes () No ()

3.9 What is the parent's attitude towards education?

They approve ()

They are indifferent ()

They do not approve ()

3.10 How do the community members participate with the school? Cite some examples:

3.11 Do you desire more participation from the community members? Yes () No ()

3.11.1 If you response is no, why?

3.12 How would you classify your relationship with the community?

Very good ()

Good ()

Okay ()

Excellent ()

3.13 What actions or methods do you propose to improve your community relations?

3.14 What expectations do the parents and the community in general have and with respect to education?

3.14.1 Which of those expectations are met?

3.14.2 How are they met?

3.14.3 If they are not met, why?

3.15 How would you define the flow of communication between you and the community?

Deficient ()

Good ()

Okay ()

Excellent ()

What suggestions do you have to improve it?

4. ADOPT-A-SCHOOL (AAS)

4.1 Does your school participate in the Adopt-A-School program? Yes () No ()

If your response is Yes, answer the following questions and if NO, pass to part 5.

4.2 How was your school selected to participate in the AAS program?

4.3 How long has your school participated in the program?

_____ years _____ months

4.4 What benefits have you received apart from the material help? Cite examples:

4.5 What negative aspects can you cite from your school's participation in the program?

4.6 Why do you think AAS is interested in bringing help to these rural schools?

4.7 If you were responsible to bring the materials to your own school, from how far would you bring them?

() Guatemala (city) () Huehuetenango () Chiantla () the school

4.7.1 How often?

() yearly () twice a year () quarterly () monthly

4.8 How has AAS influenced the educational process of your school?

4.9 Has there been some changes in the interest and participation of the community with the school since the school has been involved with the AAS program?

- () It has changed positively
- () It has changed a little positively
- () It has not changed
- () It has changed a little negatively
- () It has changed negatively

4.9.1 What other aspects or circumstances would have been able to influence this change?

4.10 Has the daily average attendance of the students improved since the school has been involved with the AAS program?

() Improved greatly () Improved () The same () Worsened () Worsened greatly

4.10.1 What other aspects or circumstances would have been able to influence this change?

4.11 Has your communication with your Supervisor changed on account of your school's participation in the AAS program?

- ☐ There has been much more communication
- ☐ There has been a little more communication
- ☐ There has been no change
- ☐ There has been a little less communication
- ☐ There has been much less communication

4.12 Do you consider the work of AAS important? Yes ☐ No ☐
Why?

4.13 What suggestions can you give to improve or make AAS more effective?

4.14 What do you believe are the goals of AAS?

4.14.1 Do you believe these goals are realistic? Yes ☐ No ☐

4.14.2 What factors do you think can limit the realization of these goals?

4.15 What other organizations or institutions would be able to do the work that AAS is currently doing?

4.16 Do you believe that this program should be extended to other communities or districts?

If yes, how?

4.17 What suggestions do you have to improve the communication between your school and AAS?

5. OTHER ORGANIZATIONS OR INSTITUTIONS

5.1 Are there other organizations, institutions or companies, national or foreign, that work in the community for development? Yes () No ()

Which ones?

5.1.1 How do they cooperate with the community?

5.1.2 Have any of these organization, institutions or companies brought help to the school?

Yes () No ()

In what manner?

5.1.3 Do you believe that these organizations, institutions or companies are adequately meeting the basic needs of the community?

Yes () No ()

Why?

Thank you very much for your cooperation. Please feel free to comment on the relationship that exists between AAS and rural education.

APPENDIX B

PVO DONOR TELEPHONE SURVEY

DONOR TELEPHONE SURVEY

1. Adopt-A-School Program

1.1. How did you first hear about the AAS Program?

1.2. Why did you begin supporting AAS?

1.3. Does that reason still hold true?

2. Contribution

2.1. How long have you been contributing to AAS?

2.2. How long do you intend to continue to contribute?

2.3. How much is your contribution, on average?

2.4. Have you contributed to any special projects? (If yes, which ones?)

2.5. Do you contribute to other non-profit organizations? (If yes, which ones?)

3. Purpose

3.1. What do you think is the primary purpose of AAS?

3.2. How effective has it been in accomplishing that purpose?

4. Agree/Disagree Statements

4.1. Do you strongly agree, agree, disagree, or strongly disagree that...

... AAS should deliver supplies to more rural schools in Guatemala?

... AAS should expand to other countries?

... AAS should provide more teaching material and resources?

... there needs to be a fulltime, paid AAS representative working in Guatemala?

... the level and type of contact with the AAS board is adequate? (If the respondent disagrees then ask, how should this contact change or be different?)

... the level and type of contact with the sponsored school is adequate? (If the respondent disagrees then ask, how should this contact change or be different?)

- 4.2. Under what conditions should AAS consider reducing or ceasing its program in Guatemala?

5. Household

- 5.1. How many members are there in your household?
- 5.2. Does your family consider this sponsorship to be a collective or individual project?
- 5.3. What is your political party affiliation?
- 5.4. What, if any, is your religious affiliation?
- 5.5. Would you consider your social and political views to be conservative, liberal, or neither?
- 5.6. What is your level of education: high school, college, or graduate studies?
- 5.7. Is the combined annual income of your household greater/lesser than \$50,000? Greater/lesser than \$25,000? Greater/lesser than \$75,000?
- 5.8. If you could change something regarding the AAS program or organization what would it be?

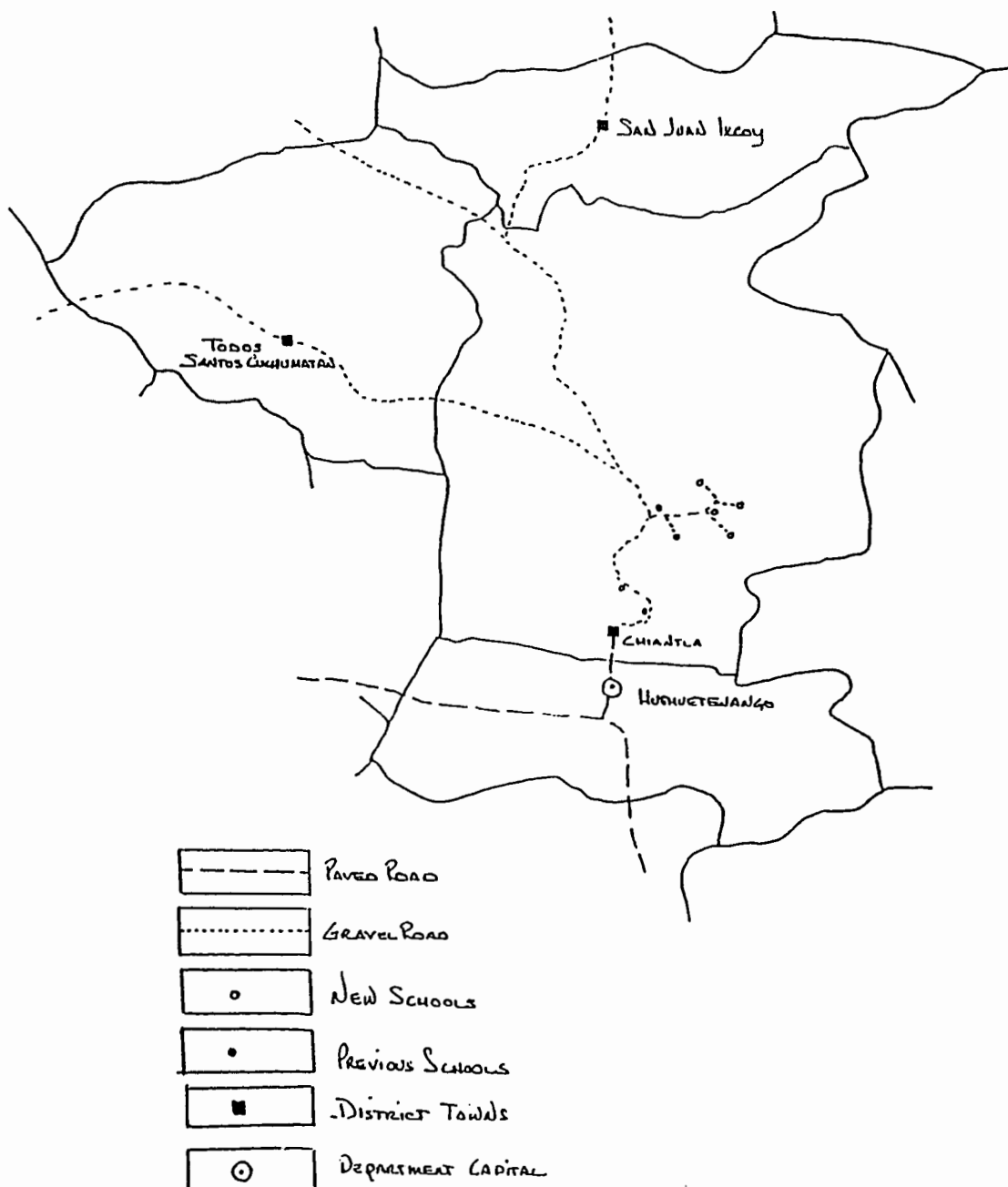
APPENDIX C

MAPS



MAP #3

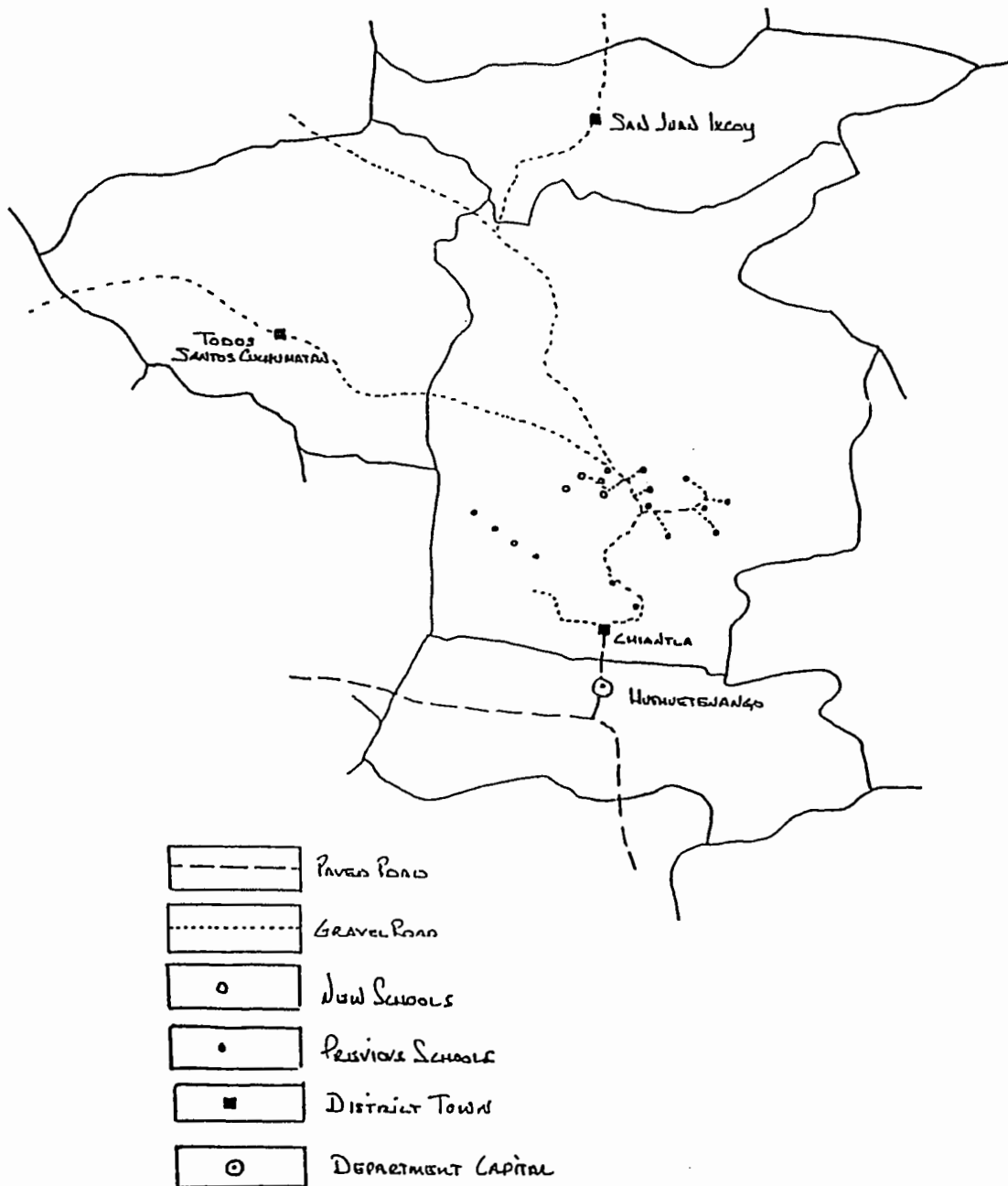
PROGRAM LOCATION 1984 - 1985



MAP #4

PROGRAM LOCATION

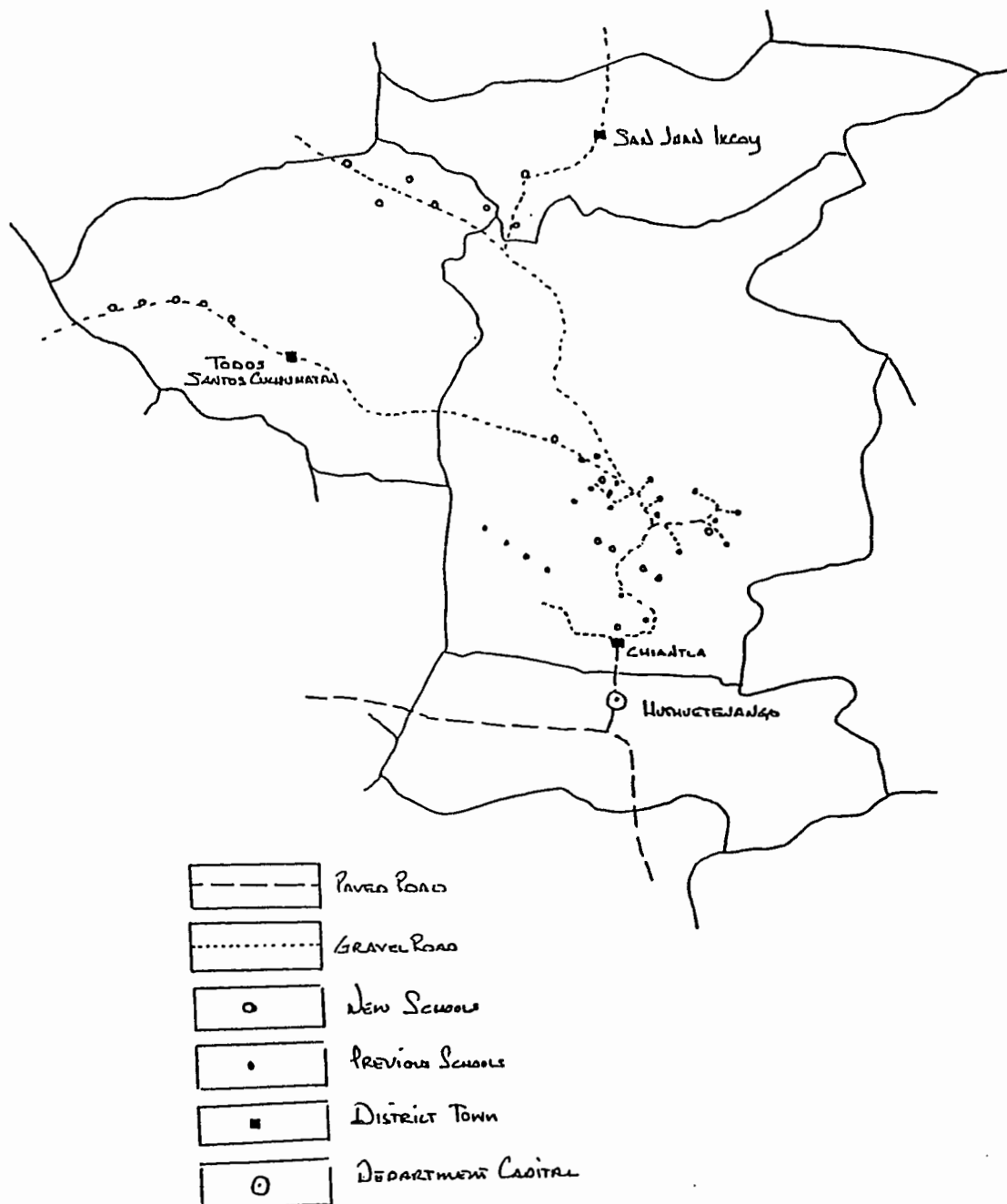
1986



MAP #5

PROGRAM LOCATION

1987



MAP #6

PROGRAM LOCATION

1988 - present

